Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-157
Tuesday
15 August 1995

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FBIS-EEU-95-157 *15 August 1995*

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Article on Trends Governing Transformation of BSP

AU1408123195 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by Khristo Karlukovski: "Clash Between Ideas and Capital Will Determine BSP's Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent national conference of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], although it was devoted to one main issue, namely the autumn local elections, did not manage to withstand the tension that for some time has been coming to a head within the party. Something came out into the open that everyone had been discussing for years, but did not dare to bring into the light of day. I refer to the explosion that shook the party at the end of the eighties and detached a number of political formations from the million-strong party—the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party], ASO [Alternative Socialis. Association], BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], GOR [Civic Alliance for the Republic], OSD [Alliance for Social Democracy], "Marxist Alternative," "Road to Europe," and so on. Some of these legitimized themselves on the public scene as independent left-wing political structures, while others, bearing in mind society's inertia, decided the problem of their existence pragmatically and chose to remain within the party.

The structures that remained in the BSP also had a new role to fulfill, namely to serve as a mirror image of the changed party membership. According to the BSP's ideological experts, it is precisely the changed party membership that serves as a guarantee of the BSP's rebirth as a social-democratic party conforming to European social-democratic standards. In this sense, what Andrey Lukanov and his economic supporters accomplished in 1990 and 1991 has, four years later, proved to be a strategic gain for the party. (During those years there was much talk of a list of 3,000 party firms that were constructed on the principle of universal replaceability.) Bulgaria's money and commodity resources, foreign exchange credits, and bank guarantees were skillfully directed into this labyrinth, to appear today as almost 38 percent of the BSP membership, legitimized as businessmen, financial experts, entrepreneurs, consultants, and so on.

The left-wing political structures that left the party in fact became a kind of pink cordon sanitaire between the blue reality of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the entrenched and successfully reorganized BSP.

The BSP's present problems may be divided into two groups. Of course, their mutual influence is very strong, and at certain times it takes the upper hand in the public decisions of both the party and its government. The first group, the determining factors are the public vote that brought the BSP to power and the fulfillment of the party's election campaign program, which embodied the BSP's ideology concerning the social government of Bulgaria. Indeed, Marx himself paid serious attention to the point at which ideas become distanced from their practical implementation. In this connection, Marx said that this distancing ruins both the ideas themselves and the system for their practical implementation in society.

At the moment, the BSP is under pressure both from its provincial structures and from that section of its electors who are not party members bu: voted for the party's election campaign program. The provincial structures live with the not unfounded idea that they are the main factor that brought about the election result. In this situation, if the party leadership and the government fail to keep their election promises, this will open the gates for the provincial structures to intervene directly in deciding the party's strategy and tactics. Disappointed with the government's performance to date, the sympathizers who voted for the BSP are clearly spelling out that they have the moral right to switch their votes in the forthcoming local elections. On the other hand, some circles within the BSP even now look at reality through the rose-colored glasses of their December election victory.

The second group of problems stems from the explosion that shook the party at the end of the eighties. The division of the party membership into separate groups that occurred then is exerting an increasing influence on the adoption of strategic political decisions by the party, its elected government, and the parliamentary group. In the public statements made before the conference, three main party groups emerged: the neocommunists, socialists, and social democrats. The question is, which of these groups will become the center of the BSP? The outcome of this struggle will also determine the BSP's sociopolitical behavior both at home and in the international arena.

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It is very likely that the ideas of the three groups and the money that they control will decisively effect the outcome. It cannot be excluded that at some stage, depending on the pressure applied by the opposition, the three groups may bury their differences and even form a temporary alliance for common actions, but the process of differentiation still remains a fact. The people with the money will seek formulas for adapting social ideas to the practice of the free market economy.

What kind of party will the BSP become in the near future? Will it turn into a social-democratic party of the German type, one of the French or Scandinavian type, or a neocommunist party of the Chinese type?

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Political Right Faces Real Electoral Challenge

95CH0292A Prague CESKY TYDENIK in Czech 15 Jun 95 p 4

[Commentary by Jan Smid: "Voter Preferences and Political Changes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the public opinion polls conducted in May, the Social Democratic Party [CSSD] came within a mere 4 percent of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] in voter preference, which is the smallest difference between the two parties during the past two years. CSSD now has the support of 22 percent of the voters, whereas ODS has 26 percent. During the past two years, ODS lost 9 percent of its supporters and CSSD gained 8 percent—some of the polls indicate that it is today supported by quite a few former followers of ODS and ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance]. Besides that, during the past two years the number of left-oriented people grew from 19 to 23 percent, and the number of right-oriented people declined from 42 to 37 percent. Electoral support for ODA is shaky, and the party remembers much better times than the current 9 percent. This torrent of—for the right—bad news is not going to be arrested by the fact that the support for the Christian Democratic Union-Czech People's Party grew from 5 percent to 8 percent.

After reading these reports it would appear that the Czech right is continually and inexorably losing support. The systematic shift in voter orientation is perhaps the most significant political change since the last elections, a change that, although it is hidden for now, looks as if it could radically "restructure" our political scene. Naturally, the question arises as to what is the cause of such "political ferment."

The right by no means bears the full responsibility for this development, of which it is in its own way a victim. Although certain political missteps could have been the cause of some minor loss of voter support, the basic political direction of the government is acknowledged and is not called into question (not even by the opposition, which for the time being simply cannot afford it).

The left, although it gains the most from the described shift, is not the real "culprit" either. In the past several years it has not succeeded in creating a political program that could become a real alternative to the government's policy and that could succeed in convincing somebody other than its die-hard supporters. It was even incapable of making a point with some more fundamental criticism of the government. It is already an inseparable part of the intriguing coloration of our political scene that all of the more important disputes and arguments about how the government's policy should look must be resolved by the governing coalition on its own playing field, while the opposition members stand around and patiently wait hoping to maybe score with some bon mot, or (best done with the president's help) block the passing of some law. The entire "policy" of the left, which desperately lacks a solid character, would in itself hardly be able to achieve the successes it celebrates today.

The main cause, no matter how unbelievable it may seem, is above all the natural crystallization of the voter spectrum. In established democracies, as long as they are not plagued by fundamental political conflicts, the absolute majority of voters is concentrated around the political center, and in the direction of the political spectrum extreme wings the number of supporters rapidly diminishes. The graph of the natural distribution of the voters then looks something like a bell, the axis of which is the political center. The right and the left have approximately the same number of supporters, while the extremist parties have mostly many fewer than the moderate parties. In the center stands a large group of undecided voters for whom the right and the left compete.

The situation in our country is entirely different. Most citizens reacted to their experience with the totalitarian regime by tilting to the right, and the entire spectrum of voters became lopsided. This model, which is quite unusual, is now slowly approaching the model characteristic for normal democracies,i.e. an almost symetrical distribution of voters around the center and on both wings of the spectrum.

Many of those who previously, in accordance with the "current fashion," leaned toward the right without really sharing its political credo are now returning to the center or to the left. And considering our political tradition, that is nothing unusual. Neither industriousness nor faithfulness to political principles were among the traits the nation was able to cultivate during the past 50 years. Therefore a return to ingrained stereotypes of behavior and thinking by those "rightists," after sobering up from the postrevolutionary euphoria, is hardly surprising.

However, a slow, but systematic decrease of rightist sympathizers signals the arrival of the end of the golden era of the Czech right, which in the post-November days enjoyed a support such as it never had before. (And maybe will not even have in the future.) The approaching end of the wave of rightist euphoria, which in reaction to the totalitarian leftist regime elevated the right to the highest positions, could mean an early creation of an ideological vacuum that the left will immediately be willing to fill. Whether it

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will be able to formulate and substantiate its approaches and attitudes in such a way that it would be able to defend them even in an environment that will not be as favorable to it any more depends on the right alone. The present formulations, often simplistic and intellectually unrefined, have already often completely lost their persuasiveness.

The crystallization of the voter spectrum is also related to the movements on the political scene. Terms such as left, right, or center have been taking on various meanings since November 1989. To subscribe to the left shortly after November meant to elect the communists. Every person of even minimal decency decided to vote for the Civic Forum, which at that time appeared to be a political right. Today, of course, the entire political scene looks different. New parties came into being, and choosing the left could also be an expression of the hope that even in our country at least a somewhat solid leftist party will finally emerge. That is precisely why many current supporters of the left place their (for the time being futile) hopes in CSSD.

To get ready, on the basis of this logically inevitable development in electoral preferences, for some catastrophic scenario on the right, or to rejoice over a cheap (but undeserved) success of the left, would be premature. Experience teaches us that such development will not go on forever, but that one day it will stop at an approximately balanced level. Neither the right nor the left will then have the feeling that their die-hard supporters will be sufficient to help them win the elections.

The greatest battle, therefore, will be waged over winning over the strong groups of voters around the center. Therein will probably lie the greatest difference from the previous elections. Perhaps thanks to that, we shall at last hear less demagoguery from the politicians, and more arguments. Who knows? But what is certain is that, at first glance, the left still has one undeniable disadvantage: In contrast to the right, it has not managed to do anything positive during the past 50 years. However, there is still the question of what position an undecided voter will take on this fact.

Reasons for Stability of Foreign Debt Discussed

95CH0292B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Jun 95 p 11

[Article by Ivo Polisensky: "The National Debt Is No Longer Increasing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The national debt of the Czech Republic [CR] reached the amount of 157.3 billion Czech korunas [Kc] at the end of last year. Theoretically, every citizen therefore owed the state's creditors Kc15,245. In contrast to the majority of developed countries, however, the major part of the Czech national debt was not created by the financing of state budget deficits but by the correction of the distorted financial linkages of the central government and the banking system of the past.

At the beginning of 1993 the national debt amounted to Kc162.6 billion. Its foundation was laid by the conversion of a number of state loans in 1990. Until 1989 government credits given mostly to "friendly" developing countries were financed by the banking system. In 1990 these claims, in the total amount of Kc60.9 billion, were bought by the state from what was then the Czechoslovak State Bank. The state paid the bank Kc21.7 billion of that amount out of its financial assets, and for the remaining Kc39.2 billion, the central bank gave the government a direct loan. After the breakup of the federation, this Kc39.2 billion was divided, in a 2:1 ratio, between the two successor states. As a result, the Czech Republic was left with a debt of Kc26 billion.

Another portion of the debt was created by the compensation of the banking system, especially the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, for the impact the devaluation of the koruna in 1990 had on the exchange rate. The debt of the Federation thus increased by Kc26 billion, of which the Czech Republic inherited Kc17.3 billion after the separation of the state. The direct debt of the state to the central bank has a discount rate of + 4.5 percent. According to the experts in the Ministry of Finance it is in the interest of the state to pay off, primarily, this part of the debt, which burdens the state with the highest expenditures for interest payments. In June of this year Kc1.6 billion of this debt was defrayed by the state budget, with money released from last year's budget surplus for the purpose of paying off the debt.

The absolute amount of the national debt was further increased by the obligations of the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank arising from foreign exchange loans and other loans in the total amount of Kc60 billion, which the bank acquired abroad in the past as the foreign exchange "agent" of the state, and which the Ministry of Finance took over at the beginning of 1993. The internal debt of the Czech Republic was also increased by the loans from international institutions for reinforcing the balance of payments in connection with the program of internal convertibility of the koruna in the years 1991 to 1993 (altogether Kc21.7 billion, due date 1997), issue of rehabilitation bonds (Kc1 billion), and government obligations to the Investment Bank arising from the financing of joint construction in the former Soviet Union (Kc7.2 billion with a 10-year repayment plan, discount rate + 0.7 percent).

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The remaining part of the national debt in the amount of Kc28.9 billion pertains to the financing of state budgets deficits of the Federation and the Czech Republic. Of that amount, Kc4.7 billion is the "Czech part" of the 1992 federal budget, Kc9.9 billion the deficit of the Czech budget, Kc8.7 billion government bonds for comprehensive housing construction in 1992, Kc5.6 billion an exchequer bill, and Kc0.5 billion a government bill of exchange.

According to the government resolution of autumn 1993, the absolute amount of the national debt should be maintained under the Kc160 billion ceiling until the year 2000. The government is paying off the principal out of the income from its own bonds. This year the Ministry of Finance will issue for this purpose bonds for more than Kc38 billion. Last year the National Property Fund paid interest on the national debt (Kc13.7 billion). This year the Fund will pay Kc10.7 billion and Kc4.2 billion will be paid from the state budget. According to LIDOVE NOVINY's sources, next year the national debt will be fully serviced from the budget alone. The share of the national debt in the GDP last year was 15.2 percent. The achieved results show that in the next few years its share will continue to decline, thanks to the growth of the GDP, the decrease of the absolute amount of the debt, and inflation.

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President Reacts to Note Sent to U.S. Embassy

AU1408190395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 Aug 95 p 1

[TASR report: "According to M. Kovac, We Will Not Induce a Change of Opinion on Developments in Slovakia by Means of Notes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Los Angeles—"We will not induce senior U.S. Administration officials to alter their points of view via notes. Their points of view are obviously based on their thorough knowledge of our situation. We should strive to avoid some of the phenomena that cause and inspire such an evaluation of the situation," said President M. Kovac in connection with the situation that arose in Slovakia following his account of his discussions with representatives from the U.S. Administration and on the basis of which our Foreign Ministry has sent a note to the U.S. Embassy in Bratislava. Kovac also said that the manner in which certain entities at home are reacting means that they want to compel U.S. Administration officials not to say what they really think but to say only what suits us. Not even dialogue at lower levels is conducted this way. "Everyone has emphasized (Vice President Al Gore and the three Administration officials at lunch) that they do not intend to interfere in our internal affairs or in the disputes between the president and the government, the president and parliament, and others. This is Slovakia's internal affair and they were only concerned about democracy, the democratic process, and the things they considered to be alarming. This was in an attempt to help Slovakia, to ensure that it is not excluded from the first wave of the integration process into NATO and the EU," emphasized Kovac.

As far as the report from Ambassador B. Lichardus is concerned—a report that the Foreign Ministry uncustomarily made public—the Slovak president described it as inaccurate. "Certain parts are merely taken out of context there. It is not true that I reported on the domestic political situation first and then they responded. This was preceded by an evaluation of our situation, my questions, and then my specific answers," he said.

Daily on Controversy Over President's Remarks

AU1508100095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Aug 95 p 3

[Commentary by Jan Fuele: "The President Has Launched Another Round of Attacks on Himself"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Michal Kovac said, with regard to the current political situation, that there are three main reasons for the political tension, wrote Branislav Lichardus, Slovak ambassador to Washington, in a report for our Foreign Ministry on a private lunch involving the president and representatives of the U.S. Administration. He continued: "The relationship between the president and the prime minister, the relationship between the president and the coalition majority in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and the coalition's attitude toward the opposition. The problems arising between the government and the trade unions, the government and community administrations, and the government and the universities also have to be resolved."

It is very hard to find fault with anything in this depiction of our domestic political situation. After all, the opposition and the government-inclined press write about all of the aforementioned issues every day. It is equally hard to cast doubt on the reliability of the source of this report—the Slovak ambassador to the United States. The hours that have passed have shown where the problem lies. The president did not, allegedly, defend Slovakia sufficiently.

This reproach ensues from a basic, but erroneous, hypothesis. The interests of the Slovak Republic should not be defended abroad, but we have to establish the prerequisites for creating a good name for our country by means of our policy at home. "Democracy is defined not only by free elections but also by the subsequent activity of the government and parliament, which should adopt laws in harmony with the Constitution, leading Slovakia unequivocally toward democracy, the free market, and the free flow of information," said a White House official, D. Fried, at the aforementioned private lunch. J. Kornblum, a U.S. State Department official, said that "Europe is starting to ignore Slovakia, because it is not keeping up with the other Central European states in making progress."

What did the president do in this situation? He reported that privatization is not coming to an end in our country; only a new method is being applied. It really is hard to imagine a more diplomatic formulation. He also expressed his conviction that the democratic forces in Slovakia are strong enough to overcome all of the problems. The problem with this formulation is that one group may be self-absorbed and will automatically assume that Michal Kovac does not consider it to be a democratic force.

Apart from this, Michal Kovac, according to the testimony of his spokesman Vladimir Stefko, highlighted our low inflation rate, falling unemployment, the rising gross domestic product, the government's successful proexport policy, the increase in our foreign currency reserves, and our successful fulfillment of the Partnership for Peace program. In this context, Vice President

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Al Gore said to him: "I am glad to hear equally good reports from you as from Prime Minister Meciar."

So, what is the problem? We will begin with the president. It is more than likely that in the interview for Radiozurnal, he allowed himself to be influenced by the comments of J. Kornblum, who recommended that he not conceal from the public at home, for example, the fact that Slovakia is repeatedly left out in references to the Visegrad Four countries. Maybe for this reason Kovac also said the following in the aforementioned interview: "They asked me to be candid with the Slovak Government and political representatives about this, and to say that they are interested in ensuring that the Slovak public is also informed of this." Perhaps it would have been more appropriate if, in the interview, the president had adhered to the implied gradualness. His comments were probably made with the utmost sincerity, but they were not well timed. Moreover, while on vacation, he is unable to defend himself against the attacks he himself launched.

The fact that he has placed the U.S. Administration in a very undesirable position is another important factor.

Thirdly, the position adopted by the Foreign Ministry on the whole affair is extremely interesting. A report from our embassy in the United States has been issued to the mass media. This practice is, to say the least, unusual. The ministry's spokesman attacked the president by his statement that "it was the president who gave his view on domestic political developments in Slovakia first. The U.S. officials present only responded to his remarks later." Mr. Matejovsky "forgot" that, in the first part of the conversation, the two sides discussed the issue of the former Yugoslavia, and only later did the U.S. representatives ask the president to describe the situation in our country.

Our domestic political dimension is mixed up in all of this. The president indeed met with Vladimir Meciar—in the presence of a third party—for a private conversation. This was on 27 July. Among other things, they agreed that the two sides would not attack each other. Immediately afterwards, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Republican Board called upon Michal Kovac to resign. On Tuesday's [8 August] Pressclub program, the prime minister described the president's interview and his statements in the United States as a faux pas and a violation of the agreement. And, as in almost everything, I detect a curiosity in this affair too. Jozef Sestak, the state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, was the first to renounce very bitterly the president's interview. A few months ago, in the parliament building and in front of witnesses, he said about Michal Kovac: "The sooner we get rid of him the better!" Well, it seems that not observing the screenings law—for example, in the case of the state secretary—may also be manifested in such a way.

Daily on Meciar-Kovac 'Nonaggression' Pact

AU1408124795 Bratislava SME in Slovak 10 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by "(bog)": "On 27 July, M. Kovac and V. Meciar Apparently Agreed Not To Attack Each Other"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Before his departure for the United States, President M. Kovac met with Prime Minister V. Meciar in the presence of a third person. The president's spokesman V. Stefko confirmed this to journalists yesterday. Prime Minister Meciar declared on Tuesday's [8 August] Pressclub that the president met with him before leaving for the United States and that they agreed on mutual "nonaggression." Meciar pointed out that the president broke this agreement in the United States, because he continued the attacks. "I was not at this meeting; it was, however, a private conversation. Making their meeting public will certainly surprise the president. This is indiscreet of the prime minister," said V. Stefko. He emphasized that he cannot confirm the mutual "nonaggression" pact; however, with regard to the contents of the conversation between the head of state and the prime minister, he said that it concerned possible cooperation involving all of the elements of political power in Slovakia. According to Stefko, the meeting with Meciar took place on Thursday 27 July. On this and the following day, Kovac returned three economic laws to the parliament. On Monday 31 July, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Political Board reacted to this by again calling on Kovac to step down as head of state. The president flew to the United States on 3 August 1995.

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Ministers on Yugoslav Situation Precautions

LD1408164595 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0515 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Studio interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by an unidentified announcer; from the "Daybreak" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The guests of "Daybreak" are two ministers—in alphabetical order, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti and Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs. On Saturday evening you issued a government statement. It said—and I quote the MTI report—that the immediate danger of a military conflict has increased at the Hungarian borders. For this reason the Hungarian Government has implemented a small-scale military regrouping, in order to reassure the Hungarian population. I spoke with some people, and after hearing the word reassure they asked: Good God, what is happening—why do we have to be reassured?

[Kovacs] Public opinion, individuals, can always react to such steps in two different ways. Some people were alarmed earlier. Everyone reads the papers, listens to the radio, watches TV, and knows what serious fighting there was recently, and everyone knows that a preparation of sorts is under way in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian border. Of course, it is not certain that there will be a wider military conflict, but everyone knows that if there is, it will be too late at that point to take precautionary measures. Those who approach the subject in this way will believe that the government was right to strengthen the guarding of the border by means of some measures.

Those who perhaps do not follow Yugoslav developments—and I do not believe there are many people like that—will say: Good God, what is happening if we have to take such measures! [passage omitted]

[Keleti] In my view, it is right for the government to inform the public about such things since these steps are being taken in the interest of the public.

[Announcer] Let us be more specific. Do you fear that there will be a Croatian-Serbian war in eastern Slavonia, in the Baranja triangle, and that these military actions could affect Hungarian territory, the Hungarian border? Or do you fear that there will be a refugee wave consisting of several thousands of people which sets off toward the Hungarian border?

[Kovacs] There is a real danger of both. In what way is the situation new? It is new in that the Croatian Army, of considerable strength, and the remnants of the Krajina Serb Army—and behind them the Yugoslav Army—are defying one another at what is almost the Serbian-Croatian, or Yugoslav-Croatian border, with the remnants of Krajina, eastern Slavonia, the Baranja triangle, sandwiched in between. So this is the primary danger.

The other is that all this is taking place in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian border. It is not several hundred kilometers away, as in the case of Sarajevo.

The third thing: One might say that three or four years ago the situation was similar. I am thinking of the fighting around Vukovar and in the region. But there is now a very self-confident Croatian Army which confronts the Krajina Serbs and the Yugoslav Army. It is the Croatian Army which liquidated the Serb positions in western Slavonia practically without resistance, that is, it reintegrated western Slavonia, and then did the same to the Knin areas, the northern and southern areas. It is a Croatian Army which feels it has been very successful recently.

[Announcer] A victorious army does not stop?

[Kovacs] Well, I do not want to say that, because I am not saying that the Croatian Army is preparing for such a thing. Indeed, the Croatian foreign minister phoned me in the morning on that Friday when the offensive began at dawn, and during our conversation, when I expressly asked about it, he reassured me that no such actions were planned in eastern Slavonia, in the Baranja triangle. However, a considerable proportion of the Croatian Army is there.

[Announcer] Mr. Defense Minister, what does this regrouping mean?

[Keleti] The original government statement says that the Hungarian Army is not implementing any large-scale [word indistinct] reorganization or changes.

[Announcer] How did MTI ...

[Keleti, interrupting] Presumably the MTI [word indistinct] that there will be more patrol duties in the immediate vicinity of the border. They will be border guards, which means that there will be more frequent border guard patrols, and the regular border guards in the border zone, who were undergoing training there previously, will have their training temporarily suspended, and they too will take part in the border guard duties—by means of being involved in patrols or other tasks.

[Announcer] Air defense?

[Keleti] As regards air defense, we have prepared ourselves for [word indistinct] but everything remains in place, which means airspace surveillance, and in the case of the air force [words indistinct]

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[Announcer] Is Hungarian air defense monitoring Croatian and Yugoslav airspace?

[Keleti] Naturally, that is so everywhere—the radar surveillance capabilities do not stop at the state borders, since it is already too late to do anything when an aircraft is in our airspace. But this is not what is at issue now. It is a question of our tightening the related conditions. We have not only fighter aircraft, but other aircraft too, whose readiness has been stepped up. That is, the army, within normal conditions, will perform a routine duty in implementing this more stringent surveillance and other tasks.

[Announcer] Who proposed that the government issue this statement? [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Mr. Keleti was the initiator. If we are to reveal such secrets, allow me to say that both the prime minister and I were on leave, and Mr. Keleti phoned us. He suggested that we meet and hold a discussion, that we should review the situation. There were three issues at hand: the foreign policy aspects; the military situation; and the guarding of the border, and, linked to this, the measures linked to a possible arrival of a refugee wave. We got together [word indistinct] with the help of the appropriate advisers, so there were more than three of us, and we reviewed the situation.

However, months ago, when the Croatian offensive began in western Slavonia, we set up an operative group, consisting of middle-ranking officials of the three ministries concerned, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Initially they met daily, and later, when the situation became more stable, they met once or several times weekly. They exchanged information between the ministries and conducted a continuous assessment of the events.

[Keleti] So this meeting took place on Friday morning, on Friday afternoon there was a meeting of the leaders of the Border Guard and the Hungarian Army, at which they reviewed the situation. Naturally, some time was necessary in order for the measures to be taken, and the statement was issued later, on Saturday.

[Announcer] Were the Croatian and the Yugoslav Governments informed about the steps which Hungary was taking, or preparing to take? [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Yes, we informed them, and not only about the measures. We said, with great emphasis, not only in the statement but via diplomatic channels too, that the government's position was that Hungary must remain at a distance from the conflict. Hungary does not wish to provide any advantage or support for either side. Hungary wishes to preserve its neutrality in this conflict. I believe that it is good if all sides concerned are aware of this.

[Announcer] Am I right in remembering that you, as chairman-in-office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], were preparing to visit Belgrade?

[Kovacs] There was mention of this a long time ago, when Yugoslav Foreign Minister Jovanovic was here in early May, in order to meet the Japanese foreign minister. The possibility arose at the meeting then for me, as chairman-in-office of the OSCE, to visit Belgrade. However, it emerged at the talks that Yugoslavia envisaged the OSCE readmitting Yugoslavia unconditionally—if you remember, the OSCE had suspended Yugoslavia's membership because of its initial role in the Yugoslav crisis.

However, most of the 52 members of the OSCE wanted Yugoslavia, at first, to reinstate the three permanent missions in Vojvodina, Sandzak, and Kosovo, which had been there to prevent ethnic cleansing and to prevent a spread of fighting to these regions. In such circumstance, I felt there was no sense in going to Belgrade when there was no chance of changing the Yugoslav position. Of course I am constantly watching this.

[Announcer] So there is no trip to Belgrade on the agenda.

[Kovacs] No. And if we are speaking about trips, allow me to mention something else. There have been reports that Gyula Horn is preparing to visit Zagreb. Such a trip figures in the government timetable, or more precisely, there is a Croatian invitation for Prime Minister Gyula Horn to pay a visit. However, no date has been agreed, and this obviously is linked to how the crisis develops [words indistinct].

[Announcer] So the visit has not been abandoned, but it is not on the agenda for the time being.

[Kovacs] It is on hold.

[Announcer] About NATO: Mr. Minister, has Hungary asked NATO for assistance? Did it inform NATO that Hungary has taken special measures, for peacetime conditions? Hungary would like to have the NATO security umbrella over its head. What is the situation concerning this. Are there NATO guarantees? I have spoken with very many people who said that if Hungary gets involved in a warlike conflict, NATO would probably not intervene, just as it is unable to take firm steps in the Yugoslav crisis.

[Keleti] Whenever I spoke with NATO leaders or with the defense ministers of NATO countries in the past, I

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always emphasized that Hungary was doing its utmost to avoid being involved in the conflict. We are keeping to that at present, too.

We did not send NATO any preliminary notification, in connection with the government statement, but the Hungarian military mission in Brussels will today inform the relevant NATO experts about the Hungarian Government's official stance. Our military attaches in Belgrade and Zagreb will inform representatives of the defense ministries there about the Hungarian Government's official stance today too.

It is not a situation for which we would have had to request a special hearing over the weekend. And it is not by circumstance that the statement appeared in this form—anyone could gain access to it. This statement has already reached Belgrade and Zagreb, and I suppose that we will soon receive the first official reactions, since we have not yet had any. These will be formulated by the two countries' foreign ministries or governments.

[Announcer] If the tension remains, and the situation does not deteriorate, will these be long-term measures? Will they last until the Croatian-Serbian relationship improves, or might there be another stage? What might the next stage be?

[Keleti] The statement unequivocally referred to measures of a necessary degree, and this primarily pertained to measures of a technical nature. They were introduced at the weekend, and I think that they can be maintained if the situation does not change. Assessments, naturally, must be more thorough in this situation, since many things must be taken into consideration.

I trust that diplomatic means will be the determining factor in the future, and the basic principle remains valid—that the country's security depends primarily on diplomatic, political means, and it must be secured by these means. [passage indistinct]

Horn Invites Opposition Parties to Talks

AU1508103395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Aug 95 p 1

[Correspondents' report: "Horn Initiates Talks With Opposition Parties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Gyula Horn wrote a letter recently to the chairmen and parliamentary group leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] in which he called for negotiations with the opposition parties. NEPSZABADSAG has learned that the prime minister wants to coordinate the autumn legislation schedule and the parliamentary activity with the opposition parties and, naturally, to discuss timely international and domestic policy issues. Government circles did not deny Horn's initiative.

Replying to NEPSZABADSAG inquiries, the KDNP, FKGP, and FIDESZ confirmed that they had accepted the invitation, and the MDF will discuss the issue at its National Committee meeting scheduled for next week. We learned that the meeting would take place on 25 August; the prime minister wants to talk to each party chairman separately in his study in parliament.

Constitutional Court's Politicization Analyzed

95CH0315A Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 13 Jul 95 pp 6-7

[Article by A. M.: "Is the Constitutional Court Involved in Politics?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In the wake of an unusually quick decision handed down regarding the Bokros package, many question whether the Constitutional Court is guided by political considerations.*

The very role played by the Constitutional Court predestines that body to rebuke the prevailing government. This is why the former MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] coalition disliked the Constitutional Court and celebrates it today, and this is why the former socialist-liberal opposition celebrated the Constitutional Court and growls at it today, from its governing position. For this reason, one can determine if the Constitution Court has become politicized only by finding out whether the Constitutional Court rebukes the present government more than it rebuked the previous government. Well, let us see.

Cases Held Over

In examining this issue the very first factor to be recognized is the incredible, excessive case load of the Constitutional Court. (see table [not reproduced here]) Unless the scope of authority of the Constitutional Court is significantly reduced (as has been recommended several times before by the Constitutional Court itself,) it is not going to have even a chance to catch up with its existing work load. As of 1995, dozens of petitions received in 1990 continue to gather dust. At the same time, however, decisions and position statements rendered by the Constitutional Court keep pouring out at the end of a production line. If we start out by presuming that under no circumstance can the Court manage the case load it receives, we can easily argue in support of, and accept the fact that, based on some consideration,

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certain cases do receive priority. To top things off, the Constitutional Court does not have formal, internal rules of case handling procedures. Individual justices are responsible for certain fields of specialty, and thus the speed by which individual cases are decided largely depends not only on the complexity of a case (such as the necessity to seek expert opinions), but also on the pace in which a given justice is able to work.

Considering the magnitude of the overload, it would, indeed, be difficult to introduce a formal system. Using a chronological approach would not be a fortunate choice, because regardless of how we look at this matter, there are, indeed urgent, as well as less urgent matters. (The settlement of issues attending the Bokros package was made urgent not only because of the approaching summer vacation, but also because a possible annulment of the law underlying the Bokros package would have caused bewildering disturbances.) Accordingly, the assignment of priority ranking to a case may be based on the extent to which a given case involves the public interest, and the breadth of the social stratum it affects. Quite naturally, parties seated in parliament, the government, and the head of state have an advantage in this regard, because based on their respective positions, their work products are likely to be regarded as being more in the "public interest" than others.

Analogous Decisions

The length of time it takes to hand down a decision may also depend on whether similar cases have already been presented to the Constitutional Court. Deciding a case takes less time if a similar case has already been decided by the Constitutional Court, a case that, consistent with the proactive perception of an "invisible constitution," also contains a general statement of principle, beyond the adjudication of the given case. Accordingly, in examining the initial question, one must start out by finding out just how consistently the Constitutional Court maintains the principles it announces, i.e., to what extent the Court's decisions regarding the Bokros package are consistent with the Court's prior decisions.

There is great overlap in this regard. One of the initial decisions handed down by the Constitutional Court prohibited the universal use of the personal identification number; in doing so in 1990, the Court allowed only a onetime delay for parliament and the government to rectify the matter. Accordingly, one should not be amazed that at this time the Constitutional Court merely reaffirmed its previous decision, and that it did not take a long time to do so.

Back in 1990, the Constitutional Court acted expeditiously, in the course of a few weeks, to twice reject the idea of taxing interest earned, as proposed by the Antall government. The arguments supportive of the Court's decision at that time were very similar to the positions taken at present regarding GYES [child-care allowance], GYED [child-care pay], and family supplement. It appears that the Constitutional Court is adhering to an expanded concept of "human dignity," a concept that also covers in part the social sphere and social policy (problematic, in my view), when it states that the government must not proceed in a manner akin to a coup d'etat in areas that affect the everyday lives of people, the intimate sphere, i.e., in areas which are of first rate importance from the standpoint of the self-realization and self-fulfillment of individuals, and that to a certain extent, the continuity of individual life strategies must be respected. In the first case, at issue are living quarters—the most important arena of human life—which should be respected most; at this time family life and family planning amount to the same. Quite naturally, virtually every decision made by the government (e.g., the introduction of supplemental customs duties, as well as increases in energy prices) affects the individual strategies of citizens and the way citizens conduct their lives, but it is obvious that the way the Constitutional Court views these matters, decisions of this nature do not carry the same weight and do not have as direct an impact on citizens than the decisions mentioned previously. (True, the Constitutional Court did not draw a clear line between the two kinds of decisions and impacts.) Note, however, that in this case, the principle of ensuring the smooth operation of the state organization, the principle that also sustained legal provisions that had already been declared unconstitutional (such as the notable 1974 media decree), has come into conflict with the equally highly esteemed principle of certainty as to the meaning of laws. Sorry, when it comes to constitutional matters, arguments based on expediency from time to time lure courts into a snare. In any event, in this case, the justices of the Constitutional Court cannot be accused of political bias; they adhered to their own principles.

Albeit, in a peculiar way, they also maintained consistency in their decisions regarding reductions in force. (Television, institutions of higher education.) A similar incident also occurred in 1991, when the Antall government proposed to replace the leaders of health care and educational institutions. From a legal point of view, a majority of these institutions were under the direction of local governments (i.e., autonomous bodies, relative to the central government), and yet, the government coarsely interfered with their scope of authority by decreeing that the previous leaders of these institutions were excluded from competing for the leadership positions. At that time the Constitutional Court did not render a decision hastily, and thereby it actually did a favor to the government. After six months of hesi-

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tation, the Constitutional Court declared that although the procedure used was unconstitutional, the action has taken place so long ago that it would not be possible to reverse it without making arbitrary decisions. On the other hand, the Constitutional Court also made a firm statement: This has happened only once, and it will not happen again! In 1995 they had no other choice but to intervene. And aware of the earlier events, the Court did not have to wait six months before taking action.

Actually, only a single matter stirred up a major political storm, in regard to which the justices could be accused of undue delay: that matter involves the compensation of Jewry. The third compensation law was promulgated in 1992. Prior to that, the Court has taken positions three times regarding the previous compensation laws, and in each instance the problem of discrimination became the focal point. Just as in this, the third case. Accordingly, no one can deny that the justices had acquired experience in this regard. Decisions were not handed down with lightning speed in the initial compensation cases either; nevertheless, they were handed down, moreover, within increasingly shorter time periods. One had to wait for three years, however, for a decision to be handed down in regard to the compensation of Jewry. Well....? I would not dare to go so far as to surmise political motivation behind this matter.

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Holbrooke Delegation Delayed by Bad Weather

AU1508145995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The visit of the U.S. Government delegation, consisting of Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and Robert Frasure, ambassador to the Contact Group, has been postponed due to bad weather, BH PRESS has learned.

It is expected that the visit will take place in the next few days. In the meantime, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and U.S. Ambassador John Menzies will hold talks with Holbrooke and Frasure in Split.

U.S. Ambassador Visits Party Officials

Liberal Bosniak Organization

AU1408162395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina John Menzies today visited the Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO].

LBO Deputy Chairman Avdo Spaho gave the ambassador a detailed account of the political program and the goals of the LBO of Bosnia-Herzegovina, stressing the need for the preservation of the unity of the Bosniak people in their struggle for the liberation and preservation of the independent, integral, and democratic state of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. This view, it was said, should be particularly emphasized now during the preparations for a new peace [word indistinct] of the U.S. and Russian diplomacy.

The LBO of Bosnia-Herzegovina appealed to Ambassador Menzies to work, together with the U.S. Administration, for the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo.

Muslim Bosniak Organization

AU1408162195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Ambassador Menzies was received by Mujo Kafedzic, deputy chairman of the Main Committee of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO], who informed the esteemed guest about the views of this organization.

He said that MBO was committed to the preservation of an integral and independent Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multiethnic state. The MBO expressed its concern over the hints about the U.S. revision of the Contact Group plan, and its apparent readiness to manipulate with Gorazde.

Ambassador Menzies said that the crisis in the former Yugoslavia had begun as a political process that initiated the process of war. The latest developments in Croatia indicated an almost imminent political solution, and the U.S. Administration was working on leading the process in Bosnia-Herzegovina to its conclusion. Mr. Menzies said that he was not acquainted with the details of the new peace initiative, but that everything would become clearer after tomorrow's visit by the U.S. delegation to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Menzies said that the United States supported the Contact Group plan and [words indistinct] new initiative that would be significantly different to the Contact Group one. The ambassador said that he would be much surprised if anyone suggested handing over Gorazde to the aggressor.

Speaking about the embargo, the esteemed guest stressed that the U.S. Administration realized what this meant to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the democratic world. In view of this, the U.S. Administration had tried to lift the embargo, but had failed. Clinton's Administration has to observe international laws, and the unilateral lifting of the embargo could lead to other countries' making similar moves when it comes to the sanctions against the Serbian regime.

At the end of the talks Mr. Menzies stressed that the United States did not forget or forgive crimes, particularly not those supported by such firm evidence as in the case of the genocide against the Bosniak people.

Diplomats Predict Failure of U.S. Partition Plan

AU1408180395 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Diane Bartz]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 14 (AFP)—Serbs began a massive expulsion of thousands of ethnic Croats from northern Bosnia and up to 45,000 of the areas remaining Moslems could be forced out next, UN officials said Monday [14 August].

The latest round of mass "ethnic cleansing," aimed at making way for Serbs recently expelled from Croatia, comes as U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke was expected in the Bosnian capital to try to sell the latest U.S.-backed peace plan to the Bosnian Government, a plan that diplomats here say is doomed to failure.

Banja Luka's Roman Catholic bishop, Franjo Komarica, reported forcible expulsions beginning Monday. [passage omitted]

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Despite Holbrooke's expected efforts, the plan to divide Bosnia with one portion forming a confederation with Serbia and the other with Croatia is probably doomed to failure, diplomats said here.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic ruled out giving up Gorazde late Sunday, and Bosnian army Colonel Ferid Buljubasic termed the plan unacceptable also.

"What bothers us is the fact that again a territory trade is being imposed," he told reporters.

"The Bosnian Government will reject the peace plan. I don't think the Americans will get them around," a western diplomat said here. "They (the Bosnians) don't trust anyone except for themselves."

"I think it looks very much like a partition, and it's another failure for the international community," he said.

A second diplomat predicted that the plan would fail because it called for a swap of the eastern enclave Gorazde for territory around the capital Sarajevo.

"The Americans made a major error right at the start by bringing up the idea of trading away Gorazde, which is unacceptable to Bosnian public opinion," the diplomat said.

The latest drive against non-Serbs around Banja Luka followed an influx of tens of thousands of Croatian Serb refugees after the Croatian army crushed the breakaway Serb state in Croatia's Krajina region a week ago.

"Bosnian Serbs have started a massive expulsion of ethnic Croats from the Banja Luka region."

"It is expected that it is only a matter of days until the Moslems will be expelled from the area as well," he said.

He estimated that 45,000 Moslems and 15,000 Croats remained in Banja Luka out of a pre-war, non-Serb population of more than 500,000. More than 5,000 have been expelled since the beginning of the year.

Elsewhere, fighting died down in the central Bosnian region of Donji Vakuf, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, where the Bosnian Army launched a weekend offensive, UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said.

The army did not announce any territorial gains in the attacks.

Millon Says RRF Not To Rescue UNPROFOR

AU1408195195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Dzevad Kucukalic on the news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic and French Defense Minister Charles Millon in Sarajevo on 14 August—recorded; Millon speaks in French with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kucukalic] Speaking at this afternoon's news conference, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic gave full recognition to the Paris peace initiatives as well as to the French soldiers within UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and the RRF [Rapid Reaction Force] already deployed on Mt. Igman, who are expecting a rapid transfer of their 155-mm guns from the port of Ploce.

[Sacirbegovic] I am glad we have managed to come to an agreement today that all the disputed issues that still remain will be solved over the next few hours, not days, and that an agreement will be reached that will enable the remaining RRF to be deployed at their destination.

[Kucukalic] French Defense Minister Charles Millon stressed that the French units in Sarajevo and on Mt. Igman were the pride of their nation, and that this French mission was a mission of peace, which sees only one solution, and that is a diplomatic and political solution.

[Millon] If we confirm our determination and demonstrate the resolve as sought by our president—as we have already done at Vrbanja bridge, as well as on 14 and 20 July—that is because we want and believe that the path to negotiations can be opened.

[Kucukalic] Minister Millon expressed his hope that the Sarajevo airport could be opened to traffic over the next few weeks, which would not be an issue of conflict, but an access road permanently [word indistinct] by the United Nations and the RRF. [sentence as received] These forces are not here to rescue UNPROFOR troops or to obstruct the government forces. They will not be withdrawn since that would mean the collapse of all the political and diplomatic efforts.

Asked by the reporters about what was being done to help the Bosniaks and Croats who are being terrorized in Banja Luka, Minister Sacirbegovic said that a letter was sent to the Security Council, with a warning that Srebrenica and Zepa must not be repeated. He added:

[Sacirbegovic] They have before them a situation, an example in Srebrenica and Zepa of what can happen when radical Chetnik forces start a campaign of terror

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against non-Serb people in a region under their control. The Security Council cannot reject this example.

[Kucukalic] At the end of the news conference, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic stressed: We welcome the French willingness for new diplomatic efforts, which will certainly be within the framework of the new U.S. initiative.

As for the current balance between the military and diplomatic operations, the military operations can only be the means to get diplomatic activities started.

Iranian Ambassador Views Lifting of Arms Embargo

AU1508140095 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 95 p 8

[Interview with Mohammed Ebrahim Taherian, Iranian ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Edina Kamenica; place and date not given: "Bosnia's Destiny Is in the Hands of Its People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 July an important meeting was held in Geneva, which was somewhat in the shadow of the London conference, but at which a decision was made that might be of the greatest significance to Bosnia. It was the decision of the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [OIC] to ignore the arms embargo on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government in the future. This decision was made by the OIC's Contact Group. Does this mean that all the OIC member countries are obliged to comply with it? How feasible is the decision? Has its implementation already started?

We asked Mr. Mohammed Ebrahim Taherian, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the answers, as he is a representative of the country whose proposal and whose commitment led to this emergency meeting of the OIC Contact Group.

Unanimous Support

"All the members of the Contact Group, and the foreign minister of Bangladesh, who had been present at the London conference, participated in this meeting; and Sacirbegovic and Velayati [Iranian foreign minister] arrived together from Athens, after a third trilateral meeting. Ismet Ketani, the OIC's secretary general, was also present," Mr. Taherian said at the beginning, and went on:

"After the Bangladeshi foreign minister had submitted his report on the London meeting, we all agreed that the decisions made there were basically a green light for the aggressor to continue the aggression against Bosnia. In view of that, plus the fact that the aggressor understood London very well—and the so-called protected areas have felt it the most—we decided that the arms embargo was no longer valid and officially announced publicly that we were putting our own defense potentials at the disposal of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Iranian foreign minister stated that some Islamic states had already been doing this, because the embargo imposed on Bosnia is nothing more than depriving it of its legal right to self-defense. It was also agreed that some of the countries from the Contact Group should remain in contact at ministerial or some other level."

[Kamenica] You keep mentioning the countries that form the OIC Contact Group for Bosnia. Let us recall that these are Morocco, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Senegal, Egypt, and Malaysia. But what about the other Islamic countries in the OIC? There are over 50 of them.

[Taherian] Bearing in mind the unanimous commitment of the Islamic countries when it comes to Bosnia, I hope that each of them will intensify its support for Bosnia-Herzegovina as much as possible. That is also why Mr. Velajati is coming to Bosnia once again.

[Kamenica] One of the important decisions from Geneva was that Bosnia must be helped—immediately. As far as you know, has this decision been implemented in the last few days?

[Taherian] I know that some of the countries that we have been talking about have made some positive steps in the last week.

[Kamenica] Which, for example?

[Taherian] I would prefer it if Bosnia-Herzegovina officials said this.

[Kamenica] This is the right receipient for this question, but when I put it to you, I was thinking of the role and the significance of Iran in current development. And also that Iran is, I suppose, the best informed about everything.

[Taherian] I will only repeat that all the OIC countries believe that, today more than ever, nobody has the right to prevent the Bosnian people from defending themselves.

[Kamenica] That conviction is not in dispute, but in this unjust world the Islamic countries also have their own interests. Have the hands of the Bosnians so far been to a large degree tied precisely because of this?

[Taherian] In the past such an opinion may have been acceptable, but now I am sure that the Islamic nations and their governments will affirm and fortify the Geneva decisions.

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[Kamenica] I would still like you to tell me if the Geneva decisions also oblige other OIC members?

[Taherian] Yes!

[Kamenica] Mr. Velayati stated immediately after the Contact Group meeting that "the defense needs of Bosnia will be investigated." The issue is sensitive, but we are interested in the details. What do these details mean concretely, for example in the case of Iran?

[Taherian] I believe that now is the time when we should speak less and do more. The suffering of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina grows with every moment. The people are tired of the promises that they have received up to now. So this is not the time to seize a microphone in our hands and say: We will do this! It is time that everybody on the scene did something!

[Kamenica] I understand your message, but I am nevertheless interested in whether in the last few days Iran has done that "something," in relation to Geneva?

[Taherian] We have been helping the people from the beginning of the aggression, and, with regard to everything that we have been talking about, our help is growing. Hopefully it will go on like this.

Against Colonialism

[Kamenica] Is the West looking upon this attitude on the part of the Islamic countries with approval?

[Taherian] The time when the West decided for everybody else is long past. Everything that is going on in Bosnia now is the result of what the West wanted or allowed. I am perfectly sure that some of those countries, because of everything that has been going on here, have troubles with their own public. But they persist in making mistakes and doing everything that they can to give those mistakes a different name.

[Kamenica] Is the appearance of the Islamic political identity, the way it is or the way some fear it will become in Bosnia, the reason for this "mistake"?

[Taherian] Some of the countries behave as though they did not know what is going on here, as though they did not know that there is an aggressor and a victim here or that the victim is humanity in general. That attitude is obvious in the terminology that the West uses. Recently I was asked by one of their journalists what I thought about the "Muslim president" of Bosnia. I answered that he should reformulate his question. He looked at me in surprise and I went on: You either do not know Bosnia, or you are speaking like that on purpose.

[Kamenica] Yes, the absurdity has reached its culmination. Does this attitude of the West towards Bosnia also originate from their fear of having Iran's presence in Bosnia?

[Taherian] Enemies can always invent a connection between things unrelated. Those who have reached one end, who have reached nothing, or have not reached something, point their finger at unfounded things. [sentence as published] It is always like that.

[Kamenica] Forgive me for saying this, but some people here in Sarajevo see you as the seventh member of the State Presidency.

[Taherian] First of all, I see it as an honor for myself and my aides to work in this country under these conditions. I also see the relationship between our two countries as an honor. As for the question that you just mentioned, those insinuations come from a very low level. The Bosnian nation is a great nation. They have shown this in these hardest moments. They have first of all shown their independence. Therefore it seems to me that what you have just said is not even appropriate as a joke. Some people simply cannot see that two nations can stand by each other and oppose colonialism. They do not understand that the time of colonialism is past. That is the cause of their problems.

[Kamenica] I was somewhat embarrassed about the question, but, in view of what you said, I am glad that I asked it.

[Taherian] A talk can be good only when both sides act in an open way.

[Kamenica] Then let us continue in that fashion. Did you expect that the U.S. Senate would make their decision of last week about the embargo?

[Taherian] I expected them to play with words and buy time. How long do they intend to continue with resolutions, how long with votes?! If somebody really wants to do something, if they are friends of Bosnia, let them do it now! Let them not wait for another moment. It is completely certain that no miracle is going to happen here, nobody will come from the outside and do something: The destiny of Bosnia is in the hands of its people. But, if they are friends of Bosnia, they will help them and very soon. Luckily, those countries that have hitherto only toyed with Bosnia, killed time in Bosnia, have been unmasked.

[Kamenica] Some believe that the Geneva decision has influenced the American Senate?

[Taherian] In any case, all those who are slow to act should expect such an evaluation, that is, they will reach a situation in which a decision is in itself is only a reaction.

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[Kamenica] It was not without reason that I insisted on the unity of Islamic countries in my earlier questions. President Demirel [of Turkey] recently said in Albania that he was against having troops sent from Islamic countries, because that could result in a crusade.

[Taherian] Bosnia does not need anybody else's soldiers. In Geneva, we talked about the fact that the United Nations does not have enough soldiers or means of its own. Mr. Velayati again repeated the proposal of the Islamic countries to send 20,000 of their own soldiers under the flag of the United Nations, to which the United Nations has never responded.

[Kamenica] Do you believe that England and France are serious in announcing the withdrawal of their troops from Bosnia?

[Taherian] The countries that are present here should either carry out their tasks or leave. It seems that they are not carrying out the tasks but they are also not leaving.

The Price of Independence

[Kamenica] If, through some miracle, they do go, will what Mr. Demirel talked about happen?

[Taherian] When the aggression on Bosnia started, were there UN soldiers and soldiers from Islamic countries here then? Was it then a crusade? Dwelling on such questions presents the whole Bosnian "case" in the wrong light.

[Kamenica] Is it wrong to think that Greece is changing its policy towards Bosnia?

[Taherian] We are putting our hopes in mutual respect between Bosnia and Greece and we consider it to be effective.

[Kamenica] What is Tehran's guarantee for that "mutual respect," considering the traditionally good relations between Belgrade and Athens?

[Taherian] We have good relations with Bosnia, and Athens with Belgrade. I believe that all possibilities that might ease the pain of the Bosnian people should be employed; they should also be used to explain that the lifting of the embargo does not mean an escalation of the war but, first of all, the creation of a balance.

[Kamenica] Talking about those explanations, I would ask you to comment on the recent demand of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd to the Security Council for the lifting of the embargo. What is the reason for this demand, if Saudi Arabia had already decided in Geneva that the embargo was no longer valid for it?

[Taherian] The Islamic countries have sobered up when it comes to Bosnia. Geneva is one of the fruits of their unity and this sobering up.

[Kamenica] Yes, but how should one understand that demand? Does it have any meaning now?

[Taherian] I hope that because of the words you mentioned, serious steps will be taken. It is up to the Bosnian people to decide in the future how much was done by those who talked in that way. [passage as published]

[Kamenica] Has Iran had any problems because of signing the Geneva document?

[Taherian] Do you believe that those decisions could cause us any troubles?

[Kamenica] I am asking you because I believe so.

[Taherian] Every country that wants to be independent must pay the price for that.

[Box, p 8]

The Federation

[Kamenica] How do you answer those who say that the relationship between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Croatia sometimes operates to the disadvantage of Bosnia?

[Taherian] We have good relations with Croatia, and we are sure that such relations are one of the reasons for the improved situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The OIC believes the same. That is the reason for our current attitude towards the Federation. We will support it as far as it is supported by the people and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

NATO

[Kamenica] Did, as some claim, the "more honest" faction in NATO prevail, when the new plan on the protection of "safe areas" came up?

[Taherian] One can only laugh at that bitterly. How long do we have to witness the sounding of the alarms in the "protected areas"? I do not believe in any words any longer or in anything that exists only on paper.

Zepa

"What happened in Zepa, and before that in Srebrenica, is one of those things that hurt one's body and soul. But, it will go down in history that the agencies of the international community, and all the others who were there to protect peace, allowed this crime, allowed such a disgrace to happen," Mr. Taherian said.

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Optimism

"With every day that passes, the enemy of the people becomes weaker and the people of Bosnia come closer to their goal. When Srebrenica fell, that was no military victory. That is just another disgrace for the enemies of Bosnia. And the reality of Bosnia and its future lies in its unity and independence," the Iranian ambassador to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina believes.

Izetbegovic Interviewed After Visit to Bihac

LD1308224495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 13 Aug 95

["Full version" of interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by correspondent Belmin Karamehmedovic on 13 August in Sarajevo—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Karamehmedovic] My suggestion is that we start off with you telling us something about your impressions from your recent visit to the Bihac free territory. Three or four days ago, you returned from that area. After more than three years, a blockade of the region was lifted. What are your impressions from this time distance?

[Izetbegovic] To tell you the truth, I did not have the time to [word indistinct]. I was immediately inundated with work here in Sarajevo, but all in all, this was a very long day. All this lasted for one day, one of the most exciting days in my life, which has not been that boring. The day was exciting from start to finish: from the flight over the newly liberated territories, arrival at the airport, i.e., the helioport, my meetings with the brilliant General Dudakovic, with the local population, and then my visit to Bihac, and so on. I visited Cazin, as you know, Velika Kladusa, Bihac, Krupa, Buzim in particular.

[Karamehmedovic] What would you single out as the most impressive moment of that visit?

[Izetbegovic] It is not an important political or social event. It is my personal experience: When I went to see the wounded people in Cazin hospital, we wandered off to the maternity ward. There were two mothers there—one that had just given birth and one still pregnant with a huge tummy, waiting to deliver her baby. [words indistinct] and then the woman who had just given birth, a very beautiful woman, who was beautiful immediately after giving childbirth, a young beautiful woman. She asked me if I would hold her one-hour-old baby. Then they brought the baby. After a long time, I cannot remember today when I last had the chance to hold a small baby for over an hour. For me personally, this was the most exciting moment that day. And then when we travelled home, I thought about whether there was any symbolism in that—you know, a new life coming to Bihac.

[Karamehmedovic] All that we have been able to learn in the meantime, after your visit, seems to show that all the people who have Bosnia-Herzegovina in their heart, if given a chance, should go to that area, at least to recharge their batteries.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, after I returned, I received so many phone calls when quite a few people criticized me for not inviting them to come with me. A bus would not have been enough for all those people. Those were people very close to me, who criticized me for failing to invite them. But in an improvised speech, I think it was in a club, something like a theater, I told the local people gathered there that I thought that at that precise moment, every Bosnian was envious of my being there. I think it was so.

[Karamehmedovic] The lifting of the blockade of the Bihac area is part of a big action taken by the Croatian Army and the Croatian police, codenamed Storm, in which a large part of the hitherto occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia was liberated. Apart from the deblocking of the Bihac area, what does that action mean for Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Izetbegovic] I would like to make a slight remark in this connection. The Croatian action helped to lift the blockade of Bihac. But certainly we can look at it vice versa: the Croatian Army and the Croatian government (?have not denied) that the existence of a powerful formation, a corps, helped and enabled this action to be performed in a very effective way. In practice, it is as if you had in the rear of the enemy army a very strong assault division—for instance, what Eisenhower did in World War II, when he carried out an assault landing, I think it was near the Ardennes, behind the German lines. In practice, we played such a game there. From the point of view of the Croatian Army, we were a powerful group, which helped this operation a lot.

But as you can see, the operation was brilliantly carried out, thanks to the powerful weapons. For me, this was an occasion to compare our actions with theirs. I must say that the Croatian Army has an enormous quantity of artillery weapons. This made possible the speedy seizure of Glamoc, because, according to some reports—these are not confirmed reports, maybe they are not completely true, but I have heard them from several sources—in the period of only two hours, they fired 9,000 shells on Glamoc, i.e., on the enemy's machine gun emplacements, fortified bunkers. Once we are able to secure the same thing, I think that we shall be able to carry out some sort of Storm or Flash [name of Croatian

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Army Western Slavonia operation]. That is somehow difficult at the moment.

[Karamehmedovic] Does that mean that some speculation which surfaced among ordinary people and the public, that perhaps not everything was a military action, is false? Does your previous reply mean that there were no agreements reached by Zagreb and Belgrade?

[Izetbegovic] [Words indistinct] Absolutely not. After all, Dubrovnik was shelled today, as far as I know. I know that there was serious fighting [words indistinct]. Some reporters later said that the losses of the Croatian Army were relatively small; I think they were a bit bigger. I went to Bihac by helicopter and returned by car, by road. I saw demolished vehicles, tanks, and so on, all around. I could hardly see anything that was not damaged. This means that the action was a real fight.

Another issue is that Martic's paramilitary Krajina forces quickly saw for themselves that they stood no chance, because the Croatian artillery created some sort of hell there which lasted for a day or two. I think they saw that they stood no chance of putting up serious resitance and decided to withdraw. Anyhow, a part of them withdrew, you know in what way, a slightly [word indistinct] corps surrendered.

[Karamehmedovic] Cooperation between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croat Defense Council, and the Croatian Army has proved to be extremely good on the example of Bihac. How do you view cooperation between these three military components in the possible liberation of other areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Izetbegovic] I think that in this respect, we ought not cherish some sort of exaggerated optimism. I would not say some big joint actions will be taken. The Croatian Army will go until it reaches the limits of its interests—until it reaches its state borders. What we can expect to a maximum degree is technical assistance in equipment, which we asked for while staying up there [in Zagreb]. More cooperation with the Croat Defense Council may be expected in the future, but it will also be limited. I do not believe we can expect any spectacular things to happen in this respect. Perhaps we can on our part prepare a spectacle, provided we get more tanks and artillery.

[Karamehmedovic] During your visit to Bihac, you also visited Zagreb, where you had two meetings with the top Croatian leadership headed by President Tudjman. It seems that some new winds are blowing in Croatia's policies on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Is this true?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, I have been thinking about that, it is a fact that such things have not happened before. Our talks included some fine statements, words, we signed some papers that were not bad; as you know, there has been some action.

Finally, as actions speak louder than words, there has been some action these days. There has been joint action, joint action we had agreed upon in Split and which materialized in the agreed period of time. This action resulted in the operation toward Bihac, which we were told about some 48 hours beforehand. We knew about this action, it took place, and here we had coordination agreed on earlier. This is where this new Croatian policy, the Croatian government's new Bosnia policy, became apparent. This is one element.

The second element could be the cancellation of Tudjman's visit to Moscow, that is, the cancellation of the bilateral meeting. We were not told about such a meeting between Tudjman and Milosevic at which Bosnia would be an unavoidable topic, where Bosnia would be unavoidable, so nobody could say that this is a purely Croatian-Serbian problem like Baranja, Slavonia, etc. They would have inevitably discussed Bosnia. We were not informed that such a bilateral meeting would be taking place.

It is a fact that President Tudjman cancelled this meeting, that he [word indistinct] a Bosnian representative there, which is certainly a new element in Croatia's policy. There has been speculation that this was done at the suggestion of the United States and Germany, which cannot be ruled out, but it remains a fact that there were suggestions before that were not respected. Whether this was a genuinely Croatian decision is beside the point; what is important is that such a meeting did not take place.

Finally, the third problem we have now is the problem of Abdic's paramilitary units and the refugees. The Croatian side was most cooperative in this respect; it allowed us to, as we said, define this in simple terms—we have the refugees from Velika Kladusa, we have the fleeing army, and we have Abdic.

I think that we will successfully resolve these problems, with Croatia's help. The refugee population, which was double-crossed by Abdic for the second, third time—we will help them return to Kladusa. I believe that this process is already under way, thanks to the close cooperation and understanding of the Croatian Government, which prevented Abdic from defending this action [as heard] among this population and which, so to speak, forced Abdic to renounce any further activities, to tell the people to return. Those who were deceived by him, there are around 10,000 of them. Therefore, here we also have a completely different situation than we had before.

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I hope that these good things will continue to happen, with the reservation I expressed earlier: We must not be euphoric and overly optimistic. We can assess Croatia's interests and how far they will go.

[Karamehmedovic] What about Fikret Abdic himself? Do you have any information about this?

[Izetbegovic] As far as I know, he is in the hands of the Croatian authorities, under house arrest of sorts. This is what we know.

[Karamehmedovic] What I mentioned earlier....

[Izetbegovic] You know, many people have asked me whether Croatia is sincere in these things, etc. We have to use [words indistinct] there is always a doubting Thomas [words indistinct] we worked with Croatia, cooperated with Croatia, and now we have to sensibly [words indistinct].

[Karamehmedovic] One of the consequences this time of the Croatian operation is the huge exodus of the Serb population of Croatia, including a large number of men of fighting age who have mostly gone to the territory of the so-called Serb Republic. In the wake of this, is Bosnia-Herzegovina stronger in military terms or is it weaker [words indistinct]? What is your view of these consequences, the transfer of men of military age to the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Izetbegovic] This is certainly a negative element of this operation, which did have positive elements, the lifting of the blockade of Bihac. The flip side is a large number of people from Krajina who have crossed into Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus further distorting the already altered demographic makeup in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are, however, reports, reliable reports that some are not going to stay in the Banja Luka region or in the Bijeljina area. They are rather going [words indistinct] to Serbia. Sommaruga, who was Red Cross president, spent two days here visiting me, he said that he had seen a continuous column of cars, tractors, and buses moving along that road toward Serbia.

A large number of them are probably [word indistinct]. On the border, though, the Serbian authorities are letting in civilians but citizens of fighting age are not allowed, [word indistinct] at the request of [word indistinct]. However, to what extent they can change the balance of power in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is the question that our generals are trying to deal with these days, they are trying to get as much information as possible. According to a report, there are 10,000 to 12,000 armed people. This is certainly not an insignificant number, particularly [words indistinct]. But most of them are pretty demoralized, and I do not know how motivated they are going to be to fight us. [Words indistinct] more or less a negative factor.

[Karamehmedovic] [Words indistinct] from this [words indistinct] can we say what the final balance is?

[Izetbegovic] What we may term the final balance, at the moment I can say that [words indistinct].

[Karamehmedovic] Before the events in Bihac, the tragedies in Srebrenica and Zepa took place. Can we say (with any certainty) what the final toll is?

[Izetbegovic] The final toll is impossible to estimate because things are still developing, the drama is continuing. What we can say is that this was a horrific human tragedy that we had tried to postpone. We [words indistinct] Srebrenica.

I would like to recall last fall, when I attended the UN General Assembly and when Clinton had to make a decision on lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina. At that time Bosnia-Herzegovina perhaps came the closest. President Clinton was at the time under great pressure and he hesitated a lot. [Words indistinct] obliged with some statements to the effect that the embargo will be lifted. That was one of the points in the Contact Group's plan: If the Serbs failed to accept the plan, the United States and the allies would lift the arms embargo, or in other words heed the Contact Group's plan and lift the embargo. [Sentence indistinct]

At the time, on my own responsibility, I did something exclusively for Srebrenica. If you remember, we postponed [words indistinct] Clinton, by saying that we would postpone our request for lifting the arms embargo by six months. When I came back to Bosnia, journalists asked me why I had done that. I said: There is one single word that can explain my action, and that is Srebrenica. We knew that the withdrawal of UNPROFOR at the time—because the lifting of the embargo was linked with the automatic withdrawal of UNPROFOR, (because they threatened us with it)—would have automatically brought about the fall of those enclaves that were not militarily defended. Perhaps they could have done something. Zepa held out and defended itself quite well, Srebrenica less so. Why and how this was so should be looked into in greater detail, but the point is that they would not have been able to hold out with military means. They could have defended themselves for 10 or 30 days, but not more because of the amount of ammunition [words indistinct].

So that could not have been done by military means. The international community could have perhaps defended them by military means, but it stopped defending them and a tragedy ensued. The tragedy is of huge, horrific proportions judging by the information we have now.

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We still know nothing about the fate of some 7,000 to 8,000 people from Srebrenica. This is a terrifying number. As you know, there are the photographs that show that many people were killed there. I am convinced that the Americans know the full truth about what happened, and not only about mass graves. Perhaps they could have made the photographs of (houses) [words indistinct]. There are certain reasons why they did not say anything earlier. In that event they would have had to do something. They said what they knew when the tragedy was over.

Zepa fared a little bit better, I think. Between 28,000 to 29,000 people (left) Srebrenica of the 35,000 to 36,000 that were there at the time. They managed to come out to (free) territory. Fortunately they managed to make their way out of Srebrenica with our help and our army's action, the Army's (advance) toward Srebrenica [words indistinct] corridor. Some 3,400 soldiers from the 28th division, which was stationed in Srebrenica managed to come out. (Yesterday) we had an inspection of that unit. I think it was reported by television.

As for the soldiers from (?Zepa), I think the soldiers and units that managed to get out will be inspected on Wednesday. In the case of Zepa, we controlled the whole crisis, the tragedy better. We managed to get almost all the civilians out. Some say that only 10-15 civilians remained up there. The rest were soldiers. Without the burden of worry about their families, they can fight their way out. Some of them got through to our lines in Kladanj and others crossed the river Drina [to Serbia] and we are now working on ensuring that they are granted refugee status there and are released as refugees.

We are in contact with the Serbian Government on that issue. We captured some of our Bosnian Serb citizens in the fighting for Bihac and we are requesting an exchange.

This is the situation (so far)—all in all a big tragedy.

Representatives of [word indistinct] visited me today. They are not dissatisfied with their reception here. People received them warmly. The problem is that they are scattered all over the place. We will try to bring them together in one place, as much as we can to help them finally to find accommodation; of course, temporary accommodation. We will not give up Zepa and Srebrenica, even if fighting for them goes on for 20-30 years.

[Karamehmedovic] This is an opportunity for you to tell us more about the American peace initiative.

[Izetbegovic] I am not sure how much more I can tell you because I do not know much about it. I can only rely on speculation. I read agency reports. I am not sure how reliable those reports are. I spoke with U.S. Vice President Gore at around 1500 today and I tried to find out more about it. He told me that an American delegation, headed by Mr. Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state for Europe, will come to Sarajevo the day after tomorrow. I think that Mr. Frasure is coming with him and they will inform us about the details of the initiative. It is clear now that there is an American plan that has been defined or its definition is in progress. I think that the latter is closer to the truth. I think that Lake and the others who will visit us are investigating the possibilities. I was aware of this and I told Gore clearly, even though he asked me to avoid details [word indistinct] he does not want to reveal them at this stage, I told him that I had heard speculation about Gorazde. I said that we will not give up Gorazde even if we have to wage war for 15 more years. That is literally what I told him.

He confirmed some things during the conversation—that whatever the final version of the initiative is, it is completely certain that it will be based on the recognition, i.e., confirmation of the integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. That is something that is not being brought into question and he said that there is no need to worry about any compromises in this respect. If any compromises are made, they will possibly concern territorial issues. Therefore, departures from the Contact Group plan are being announced in this respect. However, we will find out more when the two Americans arrive the day after tomorrow. It is certain that something new is being announced.

Good things are also being announced in the package. It is garnished with American pressure to secure the implementation of such an agreement and threats to the Serb side that it cannot reject such a plan because force will be used against it. I know for sure that this would be followed by the withdrawal of the U.S. President's veto, i.e., the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina and probably air strikes against Serb positions if they reject the new plan. Gore said today that it will be a fair and just plan. This remains to be seen.

[Karamehmedovic] It seems to me that all options mention the existence of a Serb entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina. Let us not prejudice anything by outlining what the relation of that entity would be toward other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but looking at it in the long term, does such a proposal, in your mind, lead to the integration or disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

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[Izetbegovic] You are right, there will be an area that will be called some sort of Serb entity. We do not know how it will be organized. As you know, we have proposed a federal setup. This also involves some difficulty. I do not know who would live there. The entity would elect some people to central government bodies—whether these would be some pro-chetnik elements I do not know. What that state would look like is a separate problem. But that is the price for preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina. In any case, Bosnia-Herzegovina will survive as a state.

In my mind the question whether this leads to the integration or disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina depends on us. This is a game that is neither won nor lost. It depends on us—whether we on the territory under control of the Army, the federal government, and the Croatian Defense Council—whether we will create in this territory a progressive part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a competitive part whose political, economic, and every other social model will be extremely superior compared to the other one; it has to be so, [words indistinct] civilian society has to be set up here with the full respect of human rights, personal property, democracy; this will be a democratic system. Of course, it also depends on whether all that the international community is ready to do for Bosnia-Herzegovina will be used in the best possible way here.

As such, it will be superior to the other part of Bosnia-Herzegovina and in that way it will have an integrating influence on Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think this will be the case because even today this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina is nevertheless an oasis of democracy, despite all the shortcomings that exist here. Today you can hear muezzins, Serb and Croat church bells, there are people here, we have 12 political parties today. We have recently seen a level of freedom expressed with regard to the attitude toward the government in the form of opposition parties freely voicing their views.

On the other side only one nation exists—only Serb, only one religion—only Serb Orthodox, only one party [words indistinct]. In my view, this is something that has been outdated long ago and which cannot survive. It cannot survive competing with a system like ours. Especially because we are going to demand of the international community to exert pressure on them to respect human rights and the right to private property, the right [word indistinct]. They will have to be observed there as well, sooner or later. Because otherwise they will be excommunicated from this [word indistinct].

[Karamehmedovic] This introduces my next question. What about the return of people to their homes? Obviously, at the moment we cannot hope to see that happen, but this is certainly something we should not give up on.

[Izetbegovic] At the moment, it seems almost unimaginable to people that anyone could return soon. [Words indistinct] however, this should be viewed in a certain time period, with certain dynamics. We do not know whether what is impossible today will be impossible tomorrow. People up there will change. You know that those people from Pale have been proclaimed war criminals. They will have to go. Some other people will come and things will develop in another direction.

On the other hand, if there is peace [words indistinct]. What will peace do? Peace changes the balance, the state of affairs. [passage indistinct] This happens everywhere. It is possible that there will be some changes there too. Our demand [words indistinct] is that the expelled people must return (to their homes), and the right to give them back [words indistinct] must be ensured. If we manage to ensure that [words indistinct].

[Karemehmedovic] What about Serbia's recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Are there any contacts with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic?

[Izetbegovic] The recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbia was offered to us but we did not accept it. It seemed to us that the price for it was too dear. We were offered a package including recognition. We requested normal recognition, (mutual) recognition. Milosevic was not interested in recognizing us because he does not want to recognize Bosnia as it is. [passage indistinct]

Milosevic has not yet reached (that point). He got to (the point) of recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is not an entirely insignificant thing. If nothing else, this definitely represents the undermining of the plan of creating greater Serbia. Definitely. Also, of course, the message to the Pale leaders is that greater Serbia does not exist and that Bosnia-Herzegovina exists as a state. That was a moral blow for the Pale leaders and their Serbs. They know that. [Sentence indistinct]

[Karamehmedovic] What is really your view on the latest attempts to depict Milosevic as some kind of peacemaker?

[Izetbegovic] There is this paradox, there is a saying, once the aggressor, the attacker has achieved his goals he turns into a peacemaker. [passage indistinct] When you are driven out of your house and you find yourself in a park, you are told to be quiet, not to disturb public order. [Words indistinct] Europe and the world are saying that same thing whereas you have lost everything.

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This is precisely what is going on. The attacker has achieved or thinks he has achieved the goals in Bosnia-Herzegovina [word indistinct] so now peace suits him. He would now like to legalize it. I think this is an answer to the question of how all of a sudden Milosevic is a peacemaker. He believes he has achieved his goals.

[Karamehmedovic] Earlier on you mentioned the new European mediator in negotiations on the area of the former Yugoslavia, Swedish diplomat Carl Bildt. There has not been much talk in public—let us recall that Croatia has declared Mr. Bildt a persona non grata following his statements that President Tudjman should be held accountable for war crimes. It seems to me that despite the fact that we have not discussed this much, there are some reservations on our side, Bosnia-Herzegovina's legal authorities, about Mr. Bildt's mission. Can you give me an answer?

[Izetbegovic] Our attitude is somewhat less critical, but a critical attitude none the less. But not to the same extent as in Croatia following his careless and ugly statement, etc.. This did not happen entirely by chance. Let us be clear about it, Bildt's attitude does slightly deviate in this direction. This was [words indistinct] the plan that [word indistinct] with considerable reservations. I myself spoke about one element of this plan of his, that is some kind of recognition of Serbia and of some kind of Bosnia-Herzegovina that does not exist, which will only be brought into being in Milosevic's visions.

He was ready, he was persuading us to accept this, something that was met with our [word indistinct]. We also demanded that this recognition be combined with a more effective sealing of the border on the Drina [word indistinct] the Montenegrin border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, something that was not met with too much understanding by Bildt. We pointed out to him that such recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina would cancel sanctions. Besides, this might enable Milosevic to play two games—to have the sanctions lifted and at the same time to continue building a greater Serbia through the porous border. Hence, he would get both, no sanctions while he can build a greater Serbia since the border is, in fact, porous. Arms and people can reach Bosnia so Mladic and Karadzic can continue building a greater Serbia.

We drew Bildt's attention to this issue, whereupon he—we had to point this fact out—something he, as an experienced diplomat, should have been aware of, but he was not aware. Then again, there is this road over Igman. You know that at some point he said he would secure supplies to the city via Kiseljak and via Serb territory, that he had ensured that. We told him that this is no solution whatsoever. [Words indistinct] he is too clever [word indistinct] that every time they can [words indistinct]. We demanded that the Igman road should be open. He said in reply that he understood that and suchlike. He was, however, willing to [word indistinct] the Igman road because Karadzic had offered him this road over Kobiljaca.

[Karamehmedovic] It is precisely the behavior displayed recently by Karadzic and his followers that denies his plans, because they have again started preventing convoys from entering the city via the agreed upon routes.

[Izetbegovic] [Words indistinct] in the future we have to [word indistinct] the man, an experienced diplomat, what sort of traps all this will entail. Because this is the obvious [word indistinct] of the moment. But, [words indistinct].

[Karamehmedovic] Since the last session, the main topic in the domain of internal affairs has most certainly been the resignation offered by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and the government crisis that arose after that, but which was finalized at the presidency session last Thursday, on 10 August.

The restricting of constitutional competences of the government and of the prime minister was cited as being one of the main reasons for the resignation according to a statement released after the presidency session—I must say that you played an important role in resolving the government's crisis. If it is not too daring a commentary [words indistinct] that you somehow managed to support Prime Minister Silajdzic to stay in office at your own insistence. Can you tell us a bit more about everything that happened up until the presidency session?

[Izetbegovic] To tell you the truth, I am not too keen to speak about this topic. Let us leave this topic for the assembly. As you know, the government has offered a report on its work [words indistinct] assembly, but it seems that this report came too late, and discussion on that has been postponed until the next session, which will probably be held in the next 10 to 15 days. On that occasion those who defend the government and those who criticize it will have the chance to say what they really think before the assembly and the public—the session will be open to the public. Therefore, I will not speak about this issue.

As for my demand to Silajdzic to retract his resignation, he was also encouraged by other presidency members to do the same in order for unity to be secured now. Bosnia-Herzegovina is going through really critical times at present. His resignation came at a critical time for Bosnia-Herzegovina, although I think there was no

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great damage for Bosnia-Herzegovina. In final analysis, I think [word indistinct] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is not damaging even under these conditions of war. It should be done.

Opposition parties voiced their stands, lashing out against the ruling party and the leadership. Thank God, as for the ruling party itself it has no strong opponents in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to put it honestly. The opposition parties have many information media, they used the chance to criticize, perhaps in some instances justifiably. [Words indistinct] a party that would rule Bosnia-Herzegovina may make hundreds of mistakes. However, our party has not made any cardinal mistakes when it comes to a decision to either go with the rump Yugoslavia or to have Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent and free state; it decided in favor of the latter, it organized the defense of that country. Of course, many mistakes were made in the process. They should not be hushed up, they have to be spoken about.

As for the competences, there is a conflict here. It seemed to us that the government [deserves] the presidency's competences; the government was of the view that the presidency deserves the government's competences. Therefore, we decided to set up that committee to establish what is true in all this. The constitutional committee is chaired by the Constitutional Court President [?Balipasic], its members are Trnka, Begic, and Omar Ibrahimvelic—four competent constitutional lawyers. They will say where the government's competences lie, where the presidency's and assembly's competences lie. Actually, not so much the assembly's competences, that issue is not contentious. The contentious issue is the relation between competences of the presidency and the government. [passage indistinct] In this respect, the Constitution is not fully articulated and due to the fact that some things have not been clearly defined problems of this sort have arisen. We will see later how it will [be worked out].

[Karamehmedovic] Now you have mentioned the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], I think this is a good moment to say something more about that too. As the founder and chairman of the party that rallied the Bosniak people and launched the struggle for an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, you are probably in the best position to say something about the criticism that has recently been levelled at the SDA. There are rumors that certain factions have appeared and that one faction aims at the rural population and another at city dwellers. What is your comment?

[Izetbegovic] I am personally a big critic of the party myself, a well-meaning critic. [passage indistinct] That is not a small number. Some parties nowadays have fewer members than the number of [SDA's] leading members who have been killed in the war. [words indistinct].

We never said that we were an elitist party. We are a party of the people. What the people are like—the party is like. It has all the qualities and shortcomings of the people.

I have never understood these things, which I too have heard: That there are power struggles between urban and rural wings of the party. We have never been ashamed of being a party of the peasants. [words indistinct] The peasants' sons are defending Bosnia. [words indistinct] After all, we are all grandchildren or great grandchildren of peasants.

[Karamehmedovic] Now that we are talking about the party, this is a good occasion to clarify some speculations that were voiced recently in different places and are in connection with aid that was collected recently, particularly in the wake of the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, by a great number of Islamic countries. The latest reports say that Saudi Arabia has collected around $90 million. Tell us whether this money will be used for the ruling party and what path the money has to go on its way between the donor and its final destination, i.e. Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Izetbegovic] When it comes to aid by Islamic countries, in concrete terms Saudi Arabia, which has donated 90 million as you said, a great deal of that aid goes through humanitarian organizations. Some people think that somebody comes here with $90 million for the government, the ruling party, or anybody else. That is not the case. A great deal of that aid goes through humanitarian organizations, through Ogata, UNHCR.

In the beginning, when we slightly [word indistinct] one part of humanitarian aid even went through a German firm. The first lot of aid that Saudi Arabia ever donated went through a German firm. Saudi Arabia found that firm in Germany and said here is the money, buy food and dispatch it to Bosnia. This was in that murky period in 1991, 1992, and 1993. We do not know where a great deal of that aid has ended up. This other thing goes through these organizations, they are distributing it in some way; most aid is delivered through the UNHCR. One part of that aid goes for special purposes. No part goes through the party. It goes through certain government structures. Aid goes for special purposes when it comes to the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I think it will be especially [words indistinct] I instructed our ambassador down there to try to send a good deal of these funds directly to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our government will be best able to use it, you know how.

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We have our bank. We do not want it to go through those. One part will of course continue to be distributed through European humanitarian organizations, but we believe we would need the money to help us build new settlements for the accommodation of refugees. Finally, those people were motivated to donate money for the accommodation of these people there; we would like the money to go into the government's accounts.

We have proposed that they should come here, bring checks, and hand over these checks in one of these TV studios. Something similar was done with the check donated last time by the Saudi king. He donated $13.3 million. He handed the check to me, we recorded it, and I paid this check into the government's account. How it will proceed further I do not know, but I have to tell you very clearly, the party has no connection with that. It has no connection whatsoever. Nor the people in the party.

[Karamehmedovic] We are slowly approaching the end of the interview. I will ask you several short questions. For some time now, there has been talk of possible personnel changes in the army and you have announced something similar. Do you think this is the right moment for something like that?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, I think that there is always room for changes. I do not think that this will cause any disruptions. The general staff has been considering certain proposals for some 20 days now and I was informed about them several days ago. I am talking about a certain reshuffle in the army. Of course, this will not affect the top. We have full confidence in General Delic and we think that he is our most accomplished officer. I like saying that he is not a Napoleon, but he is certainly our best and most educated officer. Therefore, there will be some changes, and I think that they will be on the agenda of the Presidency's session, which will be convened in two or three days. The public will then have a chance to find out more about this.

[Karamehmedovic] As far as the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo is concerned, 25 November has been mentioned as the final date by which this should be done. What is the current situation?

[Izetbegovic] Sarajevo, of course with the help of God and our efforts, will be unblocked by political or military means. We must not enter the winter in this situation, and we will not. I once mentioned the period between 25 May and 25 November. That deadline is still in force.

[Karamehmedovic] How much cooperation can we expect from the Croatian Defense Council in case of military operations?

[Izetbegovic] I do not think that we can expect significant cooperation. It failed to materialize previously and I do not think that there will be any significant cooperation in this respect. Many things have happened in the meantime and maybe we will get some equipment for that purpose.

[Karamehmedovic] Here is a question that will certainly interest viewers and listeners of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-Television. How is Ejup Ganic? I am sure you keep in touch with him. When can we expect him to resume his duties?

[Izetbegovic] I speak to Ganic on the phone very often, and Muhamed Sacirbegovic visited him yesterday or the day before. From our phone conversations, I can hear that he is making a quick recovery, quicker than expected. I was pleasantly surprised when the day before yesterday he told me that he might be able to rejoin political life in two to three weeks. That is a good piece of news.

[Karemehmedovic] Certainly good news and a pleasant end to our interview. Mr. President, thank you very much.

[Izetbegovic] Thank you.

Foreign Minister Rules Out Division of Bosnia

LD1408142595 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Swedish 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the same time as the fighting in Bosnia is raging on many fronts, a U.S. delegation has arrived in Sarajevo to put forward new peace initiatives. Following Croatia's recapture of Krajina, the Western powers believe that there is now a chance to bring an end to the war. Bosnia's Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic partly agrees, but he points out nevertheless that a formal division of Bosnia is out of the question. Despite many suspicions, Sacirbegovic also says that the Sarajevo government has confidence in the intentions of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

[Correspondent Anders Oehman] Sacirbegovic says that in the past we have had reason to suspect Tudjman of secret agreements with the president of rump Yugoslavia, Milosevic, on dividing Bosnia into their own spheres of interest but now the situation has changed. Croatia has become stronger and that is not only due to the fact that it has recaptured Krajina, but also that the Croats have also scored a political victory since they have clearly backed the U.S.-initiated federation between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia, which 18 months ago put a stop to the hard fighting in Mostar, among other places.

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Sacirbegovic continues by saying that Croatia cannot alone be a balancing factor against Serbia and Montenegro. Bosnia's active contribution is needed.

Many have doubted the federation between the Bosnian Muslims and the extreme nationalist Croats in Herzegovina and it seems natural to imagine a development where Tudjman and the Herzegovina Croats now increasingly reduce the importance of the Sarajevo regime. But even if one can assume that the Bosnian Government itself realizes the threat, Sacirbegovic maintains that relations between Zagreb and Sarajevo are sincerely good.

Sacirbegovic says that the ambitions of some local Bosnian Croat leaders may not always be as mature, but the relationship between the Croatian and the Bosnian Governments is developing daily.

As for the new peace feelers, the Bosnian foreign minister says that it is not a question of dividing up Bosnia. The Bosnian Government still assumes that the great powers want to preserve Bosnia's sovereignty.

Sacirbegovic says that we believe that the United States' initiative will not only preserve Bosnia's independence but will also even contribute to some form of reintegration of the war-torn republic in the longer term. Sacirbegovic reiterates that any form of recognition of an independent Serb republic in Bosnia means recognition of the aggression by a foreign power, namely Belgrade.

But in the great totality, when the events four years ago are gradually forgotten, Belgrade's voice will probably weigh more heavily than that of Sarajevo and the once multiethnic Bosnia may be forced to pay the debt of nature on account of facts of realist politics. In Sarajevo, many people are reported to have accepted the concept of a de facto division, but giving up the city of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, as reports on the peace initiative claim, is asking too much, say most people interviewed by REUTER today. More details about the new U.S. peace initiative are expected to leak out in the next few days.

Liberals: 'Hidden Dangers' in U.S. Initiative

AU1408170295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Stevo Latinovic on a news conference by Liberal Party Chairman Rasim Kadic in Sarajevo on 14 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Now that the United States has again taken an active part in searching for a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the war has entered its penultimate stage, Rasim Kadic said.

The U.S. Administration has [word indistinct] assessed the moment for the military and geostrategic [word indistinct] in the Balkans. The initiative as such does not offer a solution. It is a challenge of sorts [words indistinct] significant basic points, for example Gorazde and Sarajevo.

A series of events preceded this initiative, starting with the signing of the Split Agreement, the change to the balance of forces on the ground, and the military successes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Serbia and Croatia are definitely setting borders between themselves, with the prospect of further homogenization, which is the result of ethnic cleansing.

With this initiative, Kadic stressed, the U.S. Administration wants to neutralize the pressure for the lifting of the [arms] embargo. However, regardless of [word indistinct], the active U.S. involvement suggests that we are reaching the end of the war, but there will be many more casualties before that happens.

Bosnia-Herzegovina will, to judge from everything, undergo an internal territorial organization, with some internal borders, and the areas will unfortunately be ethnically pure, except for the territory under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

The Liberal Party is suggesting to the government that there might be hidden dangers in this initiative, and in the silence from Paris and London, that the international community could reward Milosevic by easing the sanctions and exerting pressure on the government into accepting Milosevic's conditions for recognition. [passage omitted]

Zubak on Bosnian-Croat Military Cooperation

LD1408211895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresmir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, comments on the implementation of the Split Declaration and the agreements reached in Zagreb between the top leaderships of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Zubak recording] As the official policies of both states and both peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina are unambiguous and based on the provisions of the agreement signed in Washington, I believe that the latest accord has reinforced this confidence and that the Federation has realistic chances of being completely implemented.

As far as the areas in western Bosnia are concerned, I have said this before—and this was broadcast on Bosnia-Herzegovina Television—that the liberation of

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Glamoc and Grahovo created a broad basis for more active cooperation between units of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; this basis became even broader after the liberation of parts of Croatia and after the lifting of the blockade of the Bihac enclave.

Therefore, if the present political and military leadership of the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not accept the peace plans, [words indistinct] we will be compelled to carry out further joint and coordinated liberation operations that will undoubtedly lead to concrete results—the final liberation of certain towns. I have already hinted at the possibility that these operations will be directed toward the liberation of Donji Vakuf, Sipovo, or Kljuc.

Speaking about military structures, military conscripts, the Serbs had 16,000 killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina and twice as many taken out of action; in other words, around 48,000 by March this year, which is around 20 percent of the total number of able-bodied men of Serb nationality in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These are great losses, inflicted on them even before their operations in Bosanska Posavina, and before the events surrounding the unblocking of Sarajevo, and now in the recent operations on the Grahovo-Livno front. These losses are great.

I believe these people should finally realize that there can be no solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, but a peaceful solution based on the Contact Group's plan, which we Croats and Bosniak-Muslims had agreed to. I think this is a minimum below which we could not go, and anything short of that will be unjust and will be to the detriment of the Bosniak-Muslim and Croat peoples. [end recording]

5th Corps Commander Views Alliance With Croatia

AU1508083295 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 11

[Interview with General Atif Dudakovic, commander of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, by Safet Hrnjica, in Bihac; date not given: "Without the Croatian Army, We Would Still Be Waiting for Freedom"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bihac—On Monday [7 Aug] at about 1500, in its triumphant campaign the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army liberated the occupied territories of the Velika Kladusa municipality. The broken units of Fikret Abdic mostly fled, leaving behind huge quantities of heavy arms and other weapons, equipment, and various types of ammunition. A number of former members of Abdic's rebel troops surrendered, whereas the greatest part of them were captured after they suffered defeat. The flag of Bosnia-Herzegovina was placed on the old fortress of Velika Kladusa, from where Fikret Abdic had fled in an unknown direction on Monday morning. His letters written but not sent to high officials of Croatia prove that the rebel Fikret Abdic intended to convince Croatian politicians of the possibility of a peaceful solution to the situation in western Bosnia, however to the disadvantage of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its army. The foolhardy Abdic did not succeed in his intention, obviously aware of the futility of his attempts. He fled without looking back, and, as we were told by the staff commander of the 5th Corps, Brigadier Mirsad Selmanovic, it is not important where he is, because he is a war criminal whom his deserved punishment must reach. Straight after his return to Bihac, the newly promoted Gen. Atif Dudakovic (by the decision of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Atif Dudakovic was promoted from the rank of brigade general to that of division general) gave an interview to foreign and domestic journalists. Answering the question as to how he feels after everything, he said:

"Like all my soldiers and my people, we are satisfied for having liberated a great part of our occupied territory. We have defeated treachery among our own people and liberated the western part of the border for a length of 162 km. That amounts to three quarters of the defense line we have had up to now. Thus peace came to those areas where the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Crotian Army met."

[Hrnjica] Could you have done that without the help of the Croatian Army?

[Dudakovic] Without the Croatian Army, it would not be possible to do that this fast. However, nothing happens accidentally. A year ago, on 21 August, we liberated Velika Kladusa by ourselves. Now the situation imposed another way of breaking the siege. Some 20 days ago, Chetniks started a most furious offensive against us. We knew, because of our strategic importance for the Republic of Croatia, that something like this could happen. That was made possible by the Split Declaration. It is useful for both sides. There was nothing else that remained for us to do than to fight or to die. The efforts paid off.

[Hrnjica] Were you helped by anybody before this?

[Dudakovic] We were also helped before, by our friends and allies. Croatia is both.

[Hrnjica] How did you manage to survive for three and a half years?

[Dudakovic] The longest seige was that of Stalingrad. It lasted around 900 days. The defenders of Stalingrad had the Labanjsko [name as published] Lake. We

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were completely encircled for 1201 days. And yet we managed to find solutions. I personally claim that it had to be so, because I believe that a commander who cannot find a solution to every situation should not be a commander. However, despite those solutions in three and a half years of war we had nearly 3,000 people killed and several thousand wounded. But the fight has paid off because the 200,000 inhabitants of Bihac are for the greatest part free again. They have a "window into the world." The lifting of the blockade has been achieved thanks to our persistence to stay on our territory and thanks to the interest Croatia found in our geopolitical and geostrategic position.

Army Spokesman Views Military Situation

AU1408161895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Mehmedalija Sisic on a news conference by Serif Buljubasic, spokesman for the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, in Sarajevo on 14 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sisic] Over the last 15 days the situation has been the most complex on the territory of Bihac, Mr. Buljubasic said, opening the news conference, and stressed that units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, together with the Croatian Army and units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], have scored major successes. In concrete terms, this is how it looks:

[Buljubasic] The free territory under the control of the 5th Corps has been enlarged by (?300) square kilometers. Also, the 5th Corps had come under the fiercest attacks from the territory of the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina. The Republic of Serb Krajina is no more, so there is no more pressure on the 5th Corps from the west, the north, or the southeast from the paramilitaries of the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina. The 5th Corps has participated in the Croatian Army's Storm operation. The successes that the 5th Corps had continued with the cutting off of the road from Plitvice to Titova Korenica and from Glina to Dvor na Uni. Therefore, the 5th Corps had significant cooperation with units of the Croatian Army.

The 5th Corps has seized a significant amount of munitions and weapons. Two days ago you heard that a sizable artillery regiment had been formed on this territory from the weapons and equipment seized, weapons of the largest caliber, whose lack has always been a problem for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The 5th Corps also captured a large number of soldiers of all four aggressors: the so-called Serb Republic, the Republic of Serb Krajina, paramilitary formations of Fikret Abdic, and a number of soldiers who had arrived on this front from so-called Yugoslavia. This is yet more evidence of the direct involvement of the army of Yugoslavia on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and particularly in the offensives on the territory of the Cazin Krajina, that is, in the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps.

[Sisic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is now in control of over 160 kilometers of the state border, and the separation line between the aggressor and the 5th Corps has now been reduced by 60 percent. That artificial creation of Fikret Abdic's has been definitively crushed. There is no need to elaborate at great length on what such a large chunk of free territory means for the republic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the people who had been surrounded for over 1,200 days. General Staff spokesman Ferid Buljubasic also addressed the situation in the theaters of operations of the other corps.

Fighting is under way in the 7th Corps theater of operations, and the information published by some agencies is [word indistinct]. The 7th Corps has now launched a counteroffensive.

The 2d Corps has been successful in accepting and accommodating people expelled from Srebrenica.

Nothing has come out of the aggressor's threatened recapture of territory at [Bosansko] Grahovo and Glamoc. All there has been is futile moves by desperadoes, who—as on other fronts—have been trying to do what they can, which is to destroy as many civilians and towns as possible.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff spokesman Ferid Buljubasic gave a brief assessment of the situation on the ground:

[Buljubasic] The general feature is that all the fronts have been activated and that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army holds the static initiative, which means that in the next period part of these preparations can be capitalized upon. The other side is still using long-range artillery to do what it can.

[Sisic] The things that have happened in Croatia are having no significant effect on the military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Buljubasic said, since the army of the so-called Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] is in disarray, on top of the conflict between the military and civilian authorities. Both their military and civilian leaderships are facing a deep crisis, despite yesterday's decision by the Belgrade authorities to send all the refugees of military age from Croatia to Bosnia. However, when [words indistinct] that the self-styled Yugoslavia is changing its attitude toward the fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as in eastern

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Slavonia and Croatia. Therefore all these developments will be taken advantage of in the future course of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As for the international community, everything is following the same pattern: Promises and resolutions are not being honored or adhered to, the consequences are being treated rather than the causes of the aggression and the war. There are attempts at maintaining the status quo, at containing the situation within Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hence, Clinton's veto on the arms embargo decision came as no surprise. The fact that the new plan carries nothing new can be confirmed by the daily shelling of Gorazde and the other protected zones. Civilians are being killed in Gorazde while the United Nations is waiting until it can supposedly be protected.

Buljubasic said that the following period will see the continuation of the shelling of civilians and the destruction of towns, which is what the aggressor has been practicing so far [words indistinct], the creation of an illusion of unity between the civilian authorities and the aggressor's army, the pressure by the Orthodox Church on Serbia for further involvement on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Finally, it is realistic to expect further successes by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the HVO, and the Croatian Army on the occupied territory. [Words indistinct] fighting in the theater of operations of all the corps. Tomorrow at about noon will be the turning point, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff spokesman said to the reporters.

Asked by the reporters, he confirmed that an enemy aircraft had been shot down over the theater of operations of the 2d Corps. He also presented data on their aircraft increasingly frequently violating Bosnia-Herzegovina airspace, which was another sign that things were not going their way.

Croatians Said To Prepare Further Offensive

LD1508095695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bileca, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Battles are raging today on all parts of the front line between the border with Montenegro and Stolac between fighters of the Herzegovina Corps and units of the regular Croatian Army and the Croat Defense Council, albeit with less intensity than in recent days.

The Serb Command claims that the Croats are preparing further offensive operations and attacks on east Herzegovina. Since yesterday they have been sending in numerous units from the direction of Dubrovnik and Metkovic, which are being immediately deployed along the separation line. In all probability the beginning of further fierce clashes will follow shortly.

Since yesterday Croatian long-range artillery has repeatedly opened fire on civilian targets in the Zubaci, Popovo Polje and Stolac areas. The villages of Zgonjevo, Taleza, Bijograd, Poljice and Popovo, and others west and south of Trebinje have been targeted in particular. This bombardment has inflicted further serious material damage on residential and other civilian facailities. There are no casualties among the population.

Buha: 'Positive Elements' in U.S. Initiative

LD1408171995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Samac, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, said today that the latest U.S. initiative offers some positive elements which can lead to ending the war.

"If what the mass media have said is the true intention of the international community, then we can look to the future with more confidence," Buha told Samac Radio.

He said that the positive elements are: intention to stop the war, readiness to reexamine maps of territorial division, and the right to set up a confederation between the Serb republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"We put great store by and consider it very important to have our right to confederal links with Yugoslavia recognized, which would in effect mean the recognition of the Serb republic," Buha said.

Karadzic Says 'Final Stage' of War Approaching

AU1408202395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina], and his associates visited [Bosanska] Gradiska today and attended the municipality's war presidency session. After the session, Dr. Karadzic answered some topical questions from our reporter Drasko Ignjatic.

[Begin recording] [Ignjatic] We took the opportunity to ask the president for a short comment on today's announcement of the press contacts bureau of the Serb Republic concerning the relations between the military and the state authorities.

[Karadzic] Following various appeals, I decided to suspend the changes that we had planned for the army, because the generals, and especially Mladic, saw this as something bad, that is, as a kind of degradation, and, on the other hand, we decided that, if the war is coming to

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an end, we should achieve as great a unity as possible and, as we say, to run through the finish line together, to create a state. Naturally, it is clear that the army in general accepts and respects the state, the constitution, and the laws, it accepts the supreme command and the supreme commander, which is indisputable, and I must say that we really must be very strict—our situation is indeed much better and far different from that in the Krajina, and you saw what happened with the Krajina. We are not in that kind of danger, but we must still be very firm and persistent in carrying out all the orders and in keeping up with the situation. The army must decide to be under the control of the state, since it is a state body, and I think we were right to strengthen the state unity before the final stage of the war. We believe that there may be some more offensives, but we also believe that the final stage is approaching.

[Ignjatic] Some international agencies have stated today that the U.S. Administration intends to initiate the division of former Bosnia into two parts as soon as possible. According to that plan, Gorazde is supposed to be exchanged for some parts of Sarajevo.

[Karadzic] First of all, we do not object to the war ending soon—this is the idea we like the most. The idea about the division of Bosnia is also not contrary to our interests, since Bosnia was divided even before the war. This entire war was not waged with the aim to divide Bosnia, since it had been divided before; this war was waged with the aim to reunify Bosnia, which is, once broken, impossible to put together again. There are no misunderstandings about the new U.S. intention, but we believe that the Americans should give up the idea about percentages; the percentages should result from the conference, rather than be a precondition for the conference. We also believe that these two states should be made viable, which is that they should have natural borders that are defendable, that the Serb state include most of the Serb areas, and that the Muslim state include most of the Muslim-Croat areas, and we also believe that borders should be drawn here once and for all, as happened in Scandinavia in 1905. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Maps To Be Decided by Serbs

LD1408202395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jajce, 14 Aug (SRNA)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, said in Jajce today that, following his visit to the municipalities of the upper Vrbas region, he could note with pleasure that the war presidencies have shown that authority is functioning well in these parts.

"Authority existed here before as well and was fully represented in the local parliaments while these war presidencies, considering the circumstances, are carrying out their tasks splendidly and I think that we made the right decision to form them," Dr. Karadzic said.

The Serb republic president said that the army and people stand united here, and that the defense lines are very firm and stable.

"The Muslims are suffering terrible losses, to the extent that even on our side they left dozens of their corpses; how many of them were killed on their turf, only they know," President Karadzic said and warned: The Muslim offensive against Srbobran will be completely crushed, just like the one in Sarajevo.

"Our persistent struggle can lead to the international legal recognition of the Serb republic. A nation determined to defend itself will succeed, as has been attested by Vozuca, Sarajevo, Srbobran, and Krupa na Uni," Dr Karadzic said.

"Nothing in the world can uproot a people and an army if they have decided to defend themselves and remain at their hearths," the president said and added that "the stories about maps are stories intended for confusing the people and army."

"Neither the people nor the army should pay any heed to so-called intermedia products, as those are scribbles [sentence as received]. Our soldiers, our people, and our parliament will decide on the maps, this will not be decided elsewhere," Dr. Karadzic was adamant.

Commenting on Muslim claims about taking Srbobran, the president said that foreign reporters visited the town today and saw that shells were falling, but that the people are living normally and that Serb fighters are at the defense lines.

"The lines have not been pierced anywhere and are very firm. Everything has been taken back and stabilized, while the Muslims suffered immense losses," the president said.

Karadzic's Concern About Internal Subversion

AU1508094895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12-13 Aug p 5

[Report by V.D.: "Who Is Karadzic Referring to and Who General Talic?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic, president and supreme commander of the Army of the Serb Republic (RS), as BETA reports, said that he took "rigorous steps" to prevent what is happening in Krajina repeating itself in the RS. "There was no need for the

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Serbs to move out of Krajina nor is there any need for the people on the outskirts of the RS to be anxious and displeased," Karadzic said in yesterday's talks with members of the war presidency and businessmen of the Prijedor municipality, as SRNA reports. Karadzic said that the RS has "firm and stable authorities and war presidencies which function well." He also singled out as "important that the families of the war presidency members, deputies, and officers are not going anywhere, because the people look up to their leadership." "People draw conclusions from the way the leadership behaves," Karadzic added.

The RS president also reminded that Sarajevo has nine municipalities that are shelled by artillery daily; "however, the residents are nevertheless not fleeing" and added that Doboj, too, has been a target of attacks and nobody is moving out of this town. "This is something that must be explained to the people and we will be most adamant that nobody moves anywhere," the RS president said and emphasized that "each inch of the territory must be defended." "Such a fuss was made over Croatia just as it would have been the Wehrmacht," Karadzic said and added that "the Croats are fleeing from our troops like rabbits," which he illustrated with the case of Dvor-na-Uni. "Serbianhood is not defended in Terazije, but here in Obrovac and now also on the Una and the Sava, and those who do not comprehend this cannot lead the Serbian people," Karadzic said.

Karadzic: Nobody Has the Right To Make Mistakes

He warned that "the war situation must be respected and everything must function. It must be known 'who is the head and who the tails' and who is responsible for what." "I am the president of the state and the supreme commander. I must make sure that there are no mistakes because nobody has the right to make them. Subordination must be strictly observed, as must the constitution, the law, and the decrees issued by the civilian authorities," Karadzic said.

As SRNA reports, Karadzic also warned that the RS must be protected from various emissaries who are spreading disinformation. "The fifth and the sixth column are perilous for any country and any army and we must put an end to this," he said, adding that he has already instructed the state security service to arrest the agents in question so that it would be established to who had sent them and why.

In an attempt to establish who "the agents" and "the fifth column" referred to by the RS president are, and whether any arrests have already taken place, NASA BORBA yesterday turned to the cabinet of President Karadzic.

The only reply was the advice to turn to the international press center in Pale, where a certain Dragan (who would not tell his surname), in response to our question of "who these agents" were, answered that they were "the fifth and the sixth column." The question of what exactly the term the fifth column meant at present and in what activities its protagonists indulged, as well as our attempt to learn whether any arrests have already taken place, remained unanswered.

There Were (No) Arrests

The RS Defense Ministry in Pale and the RS Bureau in Belgrade also did not want to say anything in connection with this. The press center of the General Staff of the RS Army told us that "they are not informed about the details of this action and there have been no reports from the ground whether this order is being executed or not." A voice on the other end of the telephone said, though, that "he believes there have been no arrests yet and no steps have been taken on the basis of this decree by President Karadzic."

In light of the information about the Karadzic-Mladic split, it is interesting to note that Colonel General Momir Talic, commander of the 1st Krajina Corps (and one of the generals who recently openly sided with Mladic) made a reference to the struggle against "the sixth column" via Serbian Radio and Television Banja Luka in the words almost identical to those of President Karadzic.

As the state-controlled BORBA reports, under "the sixth column" Colonel General Talic "classifies people who work against their own nation and by spreading disinformation are trying to achieve the flight of our population, move the defense lines, draw some new maps of their own, and do everything else about which neither the fighters nor the people should worry."

As the protagonists of the sixth column, state-run BORBA writes further, Colonel General Talic named "the people who have sinned against our state and to whom it does not suit that we are creating a country here, those who know that once the war is over they will have to account to the people for everything that they did and for not participating wholeheartedly in the struggle for self-determination and freedom of the Serbian people from the beginning."

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'Circles' in FRY Helped Karadzic-Mladic Split

AU1508102095 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12-13 Aug 95 p 3

[BETA report: "Abandoning Replacement a Wise and Correct Decision"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, BETA—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Serb Republic (RS) Assembly, yesterday hailed a decision of the RS President Radovan Karadzic to abandon his request for changes in the military leadership. "This is a wise and correct action in a moment when the situation has reached the boiling point, due to outside influences," Krajisnik told BETA news agency.

The disagreements between Karadzic and his military commander Ratko Mladic have been assisted by "certain circles" in Serbia, according to Krajisnik. "The split has reached great proportions because the media in Serbia and Montenegro devoted a lot of attention to it, which also constitutes a great blow to the final liberation of the Serbs," Krajisnik said.

"In such a situation and on the basis of the initiatives put forward primarily by some reputable people who know the Serbian people, Karadzic correctly decided to do everything to preserve unity and protect us against the enemy at this moment," he added. Krajisnik assessed that "the forces that initiated the split" between Karadzic and Mladic will not be satisfied by "everything stopping here and there" but will try to "deepen the split."

"I, nevertheless, hope that the patriotism and conscience of our generals and all others is at a high level and that they will not contribute to all this being destroyed for the sake of a revenge. The people will not allow that the state be brought into question because of the split," Krajisnik said.

Over 3,000 Muslims Waiting To Leave Banja Luka

AU1508095495 Paris AFP in English 0939 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 15 (AFP)—Around 3,000 Moslems were waiting to be bussed out to Croatia Tuesday [15 August], relief officials here said, following the departure a day earlier of 800 minority Croats and Moslems.

A Red Cross spokesman said the organisation was "clearing up a few unresolved issues" with the local authorities here on the latest Bosnian exodus—this time by minorities in the Banja Luka area to Croatia.

He said the organisation had laid down three "firm conditions" with the local authorities, who are carrying out the busing.

"Each and every individual or family unit should be asked whether they want to leave," International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman, Kim Gordon-Bates said. "And there should be no legal or official renounciation by people who leave their properties, which would make it impossible for them to return."

The Red Cross wanted to see the departures as a "temporary, life-saving measure," he said. "We would certainly feel it was a tragic thing if it turned out to be a permanent displacement," of the minority population around Banja Luka, he added.

"As a matter of principle, we feel that there is an absolute need to leave that little door open that one day, normality can return," he said.

Humanitarian organisations are also concerned that men on so-called "working obligations" be allowed to rejoin their families before they depart. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has claimed that the Bosnian Serb army is using men from the Croat and Moslem minorities for forced labour in frontline areas.

There are also reports that the Bosnian Serb authorities are preventing men under the age of 45 from leaving. These reports are being investigated by the humanitarian agencies.

"This was never in the original understanding we had with the government and we want absolute clarification on that point," the Red Cross spokesman said.

A group of 600 Croats and Moslems, including hundreds expelled from their homes to make room for separatist Serbs defeated in an army offensive in neighboring Croatia earlier this month, made their way to Croatia Monday in what UN officials are calling the final ethnic cleansing of the region.

The expulsion are aimed at making way for Serbs recently expelled from Croatia.

Serb Official Admits Non-Serbs 'Mistreated'

AU1408210495 Paris AFP in English 2023 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Dennis Barnett]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia, Aug 14 (AFP)—A group of 600 Bosnian Croats and Moslems, including hundreds who had been expelled from their homes here by returning Krajina Serb refugees, was allowed to cross into Croatia late Monday [14 August], the UNHCR said.

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The border crossing followed reports that Croat men of fighting age were being prevented from crossing by the Bosnian Serbs.

The group crossed the River Sava at Srbac, UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Mans Nyberg told AFP.

"There was one problem in the afternoon when local authorities stopped the operation. They wouldn't allow draft-age males to cross," said Nyberg, whose organisation monitored the departures.

"Every individual, regardless of age or sex, is crossing now," he added.

Earlier Monday, around 300 Croats and Moslems gathered outside the local Roman Catholic diocesan headquarters in Banja Luka, ready to depart. Many had signed papers with the local authorities here exchanging their homes for houses in Croatia three months ago.

But they said they had only been informed late Sunday that two buses would collect them and take them to the Croatian border.

"It was very short notice. We were taken completely by surprise," said the UNHCR spokesman.

However, the crowd soon grew to several hundred, swelled by people who have been forced from their homes in Banja Luka and surrounding villages over the past week by returning Serb refugees from Krajina, in a wave of "ethnic cleansing."

The authorities provided 13 buses to take 500 Croats and 100 Moslems to the Croatian border, the UN refugee agency said.

Many of them told AFP that they had been threatened by armed men who came to their door, and some were given only half-an-hour to leave. Banja Luka has been a focal point for refugees from Krajina following a massive Croatian offensive which retook the territory 11 days ago.

One man sobbed as he explained that his family—including his 80-year-old mother, his sister, brother-in-law and their daughter—had been forced out of their home late Sunday.

Bosnian Serb deputy leader Professor Nikola Koljevic acknowledged that minority Croats and Moslems in the Banja Luka area were being mistreated.

"The problem is that we don't have enough police to protect them," he told AFP. "Because the police is part of our armed forces and the Moslems launched a very big offensive so we have military problems combined with these problems."

He said Croats and Moslems would be given the opportunity to "express their free will (about) whether they want to stay or leave."

He said that following talks with Banja Luka's mayor, the minorities would be given the option of exchanging their property "or when this action is over, they can come back, and they have the legal basis" for that.

"It is a situation in which no one can have the full control because it coincides with fighting," Koljevic admitted.

Krajina Serb refugees were "desperate, especially when the Serbian border was closed, they got angry at a local level and they were really seeking revenge," he said.

"I mean, that's understandable under the circumstances. More than 200,000 Serbs were expelled in three days from their places where they lived since the 16th century," he added.

Life, Attitudes in Pale Examined

95BA0301A Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 9 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by Christian Palme: "Bizarre Mental Attitude in Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale—*The Bosnian Serbs' rebel stronghold of Pale is one of the most bizarre places that the tattered country of Bosnia can produce. The small town high up in the mountains claims to be the capital of the Bosnian Serbs' state, "Republika Srpska," but nowhere are the Serbs' paranoid feelings about the rest of the world more obvious than here.*

Like thunder rolling over forests, flowery meadows, and green mountains, the rumble of shells reaches from Sarajevo to Pale's tiny main street. The besieged Sarajevo valley, where 300,000 people are scraping the bottom of the barrel to survive, where practically no emergency supplies have arrived for the past three months, and where shells and sniper fire kill people every day, is only 12 km from Pale—and considerably closer as the crow flies.

There is total unreality: Up here there is peace, flowers, and young people promenading in the warm summer evenings; down there is ruins, war, snipers, and starvation.

As the seat of the Bosnian Serb government, parliament, university, and heavily propagandistic TV station, the little town in the mountains is also the center of the most heated Serbian nationalism in Bosnia. Today, at a time when Bosnian Serbs are being regarded and treated

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as outcasts by practically the entire world, a strange kind of siege mentality is spreading in Pale.

As though affected by mass psychosis, everyone here has the feeling of being treated unfairly, and everyone has aggressive arguments to "prove" the crimes being committed against the innocent Serbs by the United Nations, the big powers, and the rest of the world.

The attitude reminds one more than a little of the old East Europe. The goal of the Serbs is to take control of the entire Bosnian capital, and here they are working with adamant consistency to build up a parallel presence claiming to be the Serbs' Sarajevo. Their automobiles carry the acronym SS (or "CC" in the Cyrillic alphabet), which stands for "Serbian Sarajevo," and they publish a newspaper named OSLOBODJENJE—the same as the Muslim government's newspaper.

Small Ski Resort

Before the war in Bosnia, Pale was nothing: a town lacking a history and living mainly off of its ski hotel and the ski lifts in the Jahorina Mountains about three miles farther up. Most of the town, consisting of gray multifamily residences and hastily thrown-together detached homes, has been built over the past 20 years, the high point having been reached in the years preceding the 1984 Olympic Games.

Perhaps 3,000 people lived here then, but now the population has swelled to nearly 10 times that many. People are crowded together in apartments and houses and have made a room or two available to relatives and friends who have fled from the fighting in Sarajevo. In the dazzlingly beautiful valleys around Pale, there are also hundreds of vacation homes that are now overflowing with bitter Serbian refugees.

On the terrace in front of one of the tiny cottages in the vacation area of Rakovic, five minutes from downtown Pale, a woman was playing with two children. The valley around Rakovic was blindingly beautiful, the forest had been cleared, and the mountainsides were meadows with thousands of summer flowers. The woman on the terrace was named Dervisa, a typical Muslim name in Bosnia. And she was in fact a Muslim but had married a Serb, and obviously she, like everyone else in Rakovic, was a refugee from Sarajevo.

Her story, which we listened to for a couple of hours on the little terrace, was a litany of two years of suffering in war-torn Sarajevo. As a Muslim in a mixed marriage, she had been viewed with suspicion by those around her, and when her husband fled illegally to the Serbian-controlled neighborhood of Grbavica in the fall of 1983, the suspicion turned to persecution.

She was called in several times for questioning by the police, her garage was burned to the ground, and her telephone was disconnected. Her house was located near the front line and received at least one direct hit through the roof by a small shell or rocket.

After the cease-fire and the ban on heavy weapons in Sarajevo in the spring of 1984, a bridge over the Miljacka River was opened so that divided families could be reunited. With a great deal of difficulty, Dervisa also obtained permission to be one of the first to leave Sarajevo with her children.

Cramped Cottage

The cottage where the family—two adults and two children—lives now is extremely crowded. The lower floor consists of a room measuring perhaps 15 square meters. It has a woodstove, a cold water faucet, and a couple of bare light bulbs. On the top floor is a tiny den where one cannot stand upright. Two people can sleep on mattresses there.

I asked what she thought of the war. Whose fault was it that the war started?

"The Serbs are simply defending themselves. The Muslims wanted to drive the Serbs out and persecuted them with rape and murder. The Muslims are always lying about how the war started," says Dervisa, who herself belongs to the Muslim ethnic group.

Dervisa is completely certain that it was the Muslim government's army that carried out the massacre in the Markale Market Square in Sarajevo in February 1994. She put forward a long chain of circumstantial evidence to prove that the Muslims were to blame for the shelling, and claimed that she herself had heard the sound of a single outward-bound shell just before the shell that killed 70 people came down in the middle of town.

What about her life now? The Serbs are so friendly and nice, Dervisa says.

"We are treated much better here than in Sarajevo."

Back in Pale, we drove by the heavily protected area where the "president" of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, hides. Members of the government are sometimes seen sweeping past in Mercedes automobiles, with soldiers acting as chauffeurs.

Cafes Closed

All the cafes and the only restaurant in Pale have been closed for the past several weeks, but that cannot stop the town's young people from meeting on the main street in the evenings. We approached two 18-year-old boys, Rasa and Vasko, and sat down on a woodpile

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to talk. A bottle of rakija [type of brandy] was passed around, and the two boys presented their view of the world.

Rasa is from Pale, while Vasko is from Sarajevo, having fled here with his family at the very start of the war. They live with several related families in a big detached house in Pale. Rasa sounded exactly like Great Serbian propaganda, while Vasko was a little less rigid.

"The war is crazy," said Rasa, "but it isn't our fault. We could not live together with the Muslims. We have never liked them, and they have never liked us. We have been at war with them ever since Kosovo" (the battle for Kosovo Polje in 1389).

"But there are a lot of good Muslims," Vasko objected. "I had many Muslim friends in Sarajevo, and several of them are still down there."

"Yes, but it was still the Muslims who started the war," Rasa said, and Vasko agreed.

Weapons Training

The boys attend a technical school and know that they will soon be drafted into the Army. Rasa is eager to become a soldier. Vasko says he is being forced to. They are already receiving weapons training in school. The course is called "defense and protection." They must learn to disassemble and handle weapons, but so far they have not had target practice. The instructors often talk about the war, but their most important source of information is Pale TV's news programs at 2030 every evening. Sometimes they also watch Sarajevo TV but, they say, it is mostly lies.

"The war is awful, and Sarajevo has been destroyed, but it is not as dangerous as they claim on Muslim TV," Rasa said.

"Everything they say about the Markale massacre is lies. It has been proven that it was not a shell. Otherwise how could bottles and eggs in the market stalls have remained intact? The massacre in Tuzla (in which 70 young people were killed by a shell) was the fault of the Muslims themselves. They said so on TV here, and I believe it."

Rasa's favorite reading material is *Srpska Vojska (The Army of the Serbs)*, and he likes to read about the life of soldiers together. He never sees the foreign press, and anyway, it sides completely with the Muslims, he says angrily. Everything they write about Serbian concentration camps such as Omarska and Keraterm is lies. But the Muslims have camps, and there is reliable evidence of that.

Like most other Serbs, they feel that it is very unfair for Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic to be suspected of war crimes.

"In that case, why aren't they prosecuting Izetbegovic?" Rasa asks. "He has done things much worse."

What about the future: How does it look?

"Only one people can live here," says Rasa. "We hate each other, and if the Muslims don't drive us out, then we will have to force them to disappear."

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EU Ambassadors Present Demarche to Sanader

AU1408174395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[Report by Dragoslav Kosaric from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The ambassadors of Spain, Italy, and France today presented on behalf of the EU a written demarche to Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader in which the EU expresses concern about the increased tension and the amassing of Croatian troops on Eastern Slavonian territory. The document demanded that Croatia refrain from all military activities and resolve problems through negotiations, for which the EU expresses readiness to help establish a dialogue.

Deputy Minister Sanader told Ambassadors (Le Paine), Pensa, and Gaillard that Croatia is apparently not planning military actions in Eastern Slavonia and that Croatia is ready to negotiate both with the local Serbs and about normalizing relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

After a number of refugees left Croatia, several hundred Serbs who left their homes in Kordun and Banija are, according to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], still in the Glina and Topusko region. These people did not have their own means of transportation, or their tractors or cars had broken down on the road.

In all six collection camps in Split, Zadar, Sibenik, Gospic, Karlovac, and Sisak, a procedure has begun of investigating imprisoned Serbs. Some of them—and exact numbers are still not known—have been brought from the camps to investigation prisons in Karlovac, Zadar, Sibenik, Split, and Gospic.

The International Committee of the Red Cross still has no information about these people. There are still 800 Serb refugees in the Knin UNPROFOR base. Their fate is uncertain, although UNPROFOR says that there is now no way for them to leave the base either of their own free will or under the pressure of the Croatian authorities. Negotiations about their further fate are under way.

Army Chief of Staff on Fighting, Serb Attacks

LD1508144895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Dubrovnik area has not been peaceful today. General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of the Croatian Army general staff, spoke at a news conference about the Chetnik attacks. Adrijana Tomasic reports:

[Tomasic] [Passage omitted] Asked by a U.S. NATIONAL REVIEW correspondent whether Chetnik attacks amount to an attempt to take revenge for losing Krajina or whether these are plans aimed at territorial conquests, Gen. Cervenko said they are both, and went on to say:

[Begin Cervenko recording] We consider this as being a provocation to drag us into the war in this area. We are absolutely ready for it. We also know their future intentions. We will conduct ourselves in accordance with the situation and the Chetniks' intentions. [end recording]

[Tomasic] Asked by an Associated Press correspondent whether there have been any advances made by either side, and whether the Croatian Defense Council and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina are involved in fighting at the frontline in any way, Gen. Cervenko said:

[Begin Cervenko recording] The Chetnik infantry forces have attempted to penetrate into our areas. I think that having cleared the special corps of the special Krajina forces, we will certainly finish the job with Vucurevic's [Trebinje mayor] Chetniks, shepherds, and Neanderthals. [end recording]

[Tomasic] As for the situation on the front, what I saw today has convinced me that this area will be defended and that the Serb Army stands absolutely no chance, Gen. Cervenko said at the news conference in Dubrovnik today.

Constitutional Status of Serbs Set for Change

LD1408145795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1421 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 14 (TANJUG)—Croatia has decided to speedily effect changes in the constitutional status of its Serb population following the exodus of Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Deputy speaker of the Croatian Parliament Vladimir Seks said that there was no more reason for keeping the constitutional law on minorities, under which the overwhelmingly Serb communes of Knin and Glina enjoyed special status.

Since Croatia's demographic structure is now changed, a new census should be conducted in a few months to determine the exact size of minority communities, on the basis of which the law on minorities will be amended, Seks told the Zagreb daily VJESNIK.

The law envisaged special status for ethnic communities accounting for more than eight percent of Croatia's overall population.

Since Serbs no longer qualify for that status, the constitutional law should be changed, together with the territorial organisation of Croatia, said Seks.

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Return of Exiles 'Must Start Immediately'

AU1508080995 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by M. Tomac: "Return Home Possible for 106,000 Exiled People!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Through the liberation of the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia and their reintegration into the Croatian legal system, one of the most important goals of the young Croatian state has been achieved: the return of the exiled people to their homes. As we have been told by a representative of the governmental office for exiled persons and refugees, Adalbert Rebic, the preparations for the return have started, as well as all necessary measures that will be taken after their return.

"The return must start immediately, systematically, and in an organized way, depending on the restoration, which means that the place of return must be compeltely safe, with appropriate infrastructure, and under the condition that the houses are whole," Rebic pointed out. According to Rebic, at the moment there are around 106,000 exiled people who can return, i.e. those who come from the territories liberated by Operation Storm, and the pictures shown on television tell enough about the state of houses and objects.

To our question about the rights and status of those who return, Adalbert Rebic said: "In that aspect we conform to the laws of the National Program for Return, which provides that the exiled people who return to their homes should for a while still retain their status not of exiled persons but of 'returned persons.' According to the judgement of regional offices, which are well acquainted with the situation, that status can be prolonged for three, six, or even 12 months if necessary. That includes adequate humanitarian aid, financial means, credits, and so on. If after 12 months they do not manage to integrate into normal life, they get the status of social cases, which means that the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare is competent for them."

Martic Says Army Will Try To 'Liberate' Krajina

LD1408151295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 14 Aug (SRNA)—Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], told SRNA today that the situation in the aftermath of the tragedy that afflicted the Serb population of Krajina has been gradually consolidating.

According to Martic, a crisis center has been set up in Banja Luka, headed by Rajko Lezajic, president of the RSK Assembly, and including a number of ministers, members of Martic's cabinet, and RSK Commissioner for Refugees Milan Trbulin. The center's task is to care for the refugees.

"I took upon myself the responsibility of to consolidate the dispersed army and take it back into battle," Martic said.

According to information at his disposal, there is a growing number of men of fighting age still in the Serb Republic who are voluntarily reporting to the army centers.

"I expect that over the next few days the majority of these people—those who are not cowards—will return and help us liberate our century-old homes and deal Tudjman the blow he deserves," the RSK president said.

Granic on Krajina Attack, Peace Prospects

BR1408152495 Madrid ABC in Spanish 13 Aug 95 p 31

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Branimir Baron Brljevic in Zagreb; date not given: "Mate Granic: 'We Had No Choice'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—*Powerlessness and humiliation swamped Croatia four years ago, when with the Yugoslav Army's assistance, the Serbs occupied one-third of its territory, but things have changed considerably. According to U.S. calculations, the new Croatian Army was able to mobilize four times faster than any other international army. In view of the failure of all negotiations, Franjo Tudjman ordered "Operation Storm" to be carried out, and in just three days a region 10 times larger than Western Slavonia, won back in a surprise operation in May, was liberated.*

[Baron] Why did Croatia decide to undertake Operation Oluja [Storm]?

[Granic] Military and police operation Oluja took place in a desperate situation, following the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa under everybody's gaze. We could not allow the Muslim enclave of Bihac in western Bosnia, where people had been besieged and condemned to hunger for over 1,200 days, to also fall. We have been negotiating with the Serb rebels for four years.

"No" to Bildt

[Baron] You are probably not referring to the Bildt plan by that, are you?

[Granic] This plan is finally finished. According to Bildt, the UN sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro—that is, the remains of Yugoslavia—had to be lifted in nine months and without right of veto in return for

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Serbian recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and without the recognition of Croatia. With the Bildt plan and the fall of Bihac, we would have lost all chance of securing a secure Croatian state.

[Baron] What have you actually achieved through the military operation in Krajina?

[Granic] A completely new geostrategic situation has been reached: The cooperation and the bond between Croatia and Bosnia are stronger than ever. In this way, new peace initiatives have also become possible. We are aware that the future of the veto on Croatia in the imminent process of European integration depends on how quickly we apply all international human rights norms—that is, protecting civilians and refugees and allowing both the Croat displaced people and the Serb refugees to return to their homes. However, I repeat that what we have achieved though our intervention is that the geostrategic situation for securing a final and just peace throughout the area of the former Yugoslavia is stronger than ever.

Ethnic Cleansing

[Baron] But an "ethnic cleansing" has occurred again.

[Granic] You probably know that Babic has accused so-called President Martic of having organized the evacuation of Serb refugees from Krajina, even with the use of force. We have no reason not to believe this.

[Baron] But what about the Croatian actions against the refugees?

[Granic] I ask you not to forget that the operation began with an appeal by President Tudjman. In this appeal Serb citizens were urged to stay in their homes. Even the commutation of sentences on rebels who had not committed war crimes was guaranteed.

[Baron] Is it true that Eastern Slavonia is being supplied with weapons and troops from the remains of Yugoslavia?

[Granic] Exactly. Belgrade is in complete control of the situation in Eastern Slavonia; that is no longer any secret. All military and civilian power is controlled by Milosevic, and in practice the region is totally occupied by Serbia and integrated into it. We will never accept this fact.

[Baron] Does Croatia plan a lighting operation in Eastern Slavonia?

[Granic] Right now, and even though we are constantly provoked, we have no military action planned.

[Baron] Could you say something more about the alleged plan to partition Bosnia-Herzegovina between Milosevic and Tudjman?

[Granic] There is no plan to partition the internationally recognized territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina between the two presidents. There has been no agreement to this effect. In our opinion, Serbia remains the real aggressor in both republics, both in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is, as before, the power occupying 4.6 percent of our national territory.

[Baron] I deduce that, despite everything, at least diplomatic relations with Serbia and with Milosevic are being maintained, are they not? How do they operate?

[Granic] All the contacts, even the most trivial, take place at the level of offices, both those of the Croats in Zagreb and those of rump Yugoslavia in Belgrade. Currently, we maintain no other kind of contact.

[Baron] Have all the international community's efforts really been exhausted, or does Croatia have the impression that the United Nations has lost all its credibility?

[Granic] It is no impression: Everybody has been able to see it with their own eyes. Following the attack by the Bosnian Serbs' crack units on the Muslim enclaves of Zepa and Srebrenica, the international community, apart from its consternation and the international aid, has done virtually nothing.

[Baron] Was there international pressure during the operation?

[Granic] There was pressure, but it was much weaker than during the lightning operation in May, when Western Slavonia was liberated. On the second day, the international community was already mainly concentrating on humanitarian matters.

[Baron] The international intermediaries have so far been a bitter pill for both Croatia and Bosnia. Does the mediation on behalf of the United Nations (Stoltenberg) and the EU (Carl Bildt) have any future, any point?

[Granic] With respect to Carl Bildt, as far as we are concerned he has passed into history. We cannot continue to negotiate with him. With respect to Stoltenberg, his statement that Croats and Bosnians are in fact Serbs surprised us very unpleasantly. However, our government has not made a decision that, as far as Croatia is concerned, Stoltenberg should be excluded from the peace process. We are prepared to continue to cooperate with the international community, although in view of the mediators' conduct so far we are building up no false hopes in this connection.

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Croatia, Military Power

[Baron] Is Croatia currently the most powerful military power in the region?

[Granic] A military balance had to be achieved to find a peaceful and realistic solution. Our diplomacy is striving, just as before, to prevent a direct confrontation, provided that is possible.

[Baron] It is clear that the arms embargo has been broken.

[Granic] It was illogical and at odds with the UN Charter, which envisages the right to self-defense.

[Baron] The neighboring and allied territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina also has that right, doesn't not?

[Granic] Obviously.

[Baron] Has Croatia contributed to the rearming of Bosnia?

[Granic] I believe so, but you should put this question to our defense minister, Gojko Susak.

[Baron] Susak stated six months ago that everything one may need to defend oneself can be purchased on the international market. Does that not, in fact, of the hypocrisy and deceit of the big powers and the world?

[Granic] Defense Minister Susak can answer this question much better, too.

Serb Krajina Army 'Switching to Guerrilla Warfare'

LD1408124995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 14 Aug (SRNA)—Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, stated today that the Serb Krajina army is switching to guerrilla warfare.

In a statement forwarded to SRNA by Martic's information service from the free territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, the Krajina president said that this type of warfare will last until this Serb state has been completely liberated.

UN: Croatians 'Systematically' Burned Serb Homes

LD1408132395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1302 GMT 14 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, August 14 (TANJUG)—U.N. observers and civilian police have established that Serb houses were systematically burned during Croatia's military offensive on the Serb Krajina, U.N. spokesman in Knin Alun Roberts has said.

In an interview with the Croatian daily FERAL TRIBUNE—one of the very few papers that is not under state control—Roberts cited a report by a U.N. official in charge of monitoring the respect of human rights.

On the 18-km road from Knin to Drnis, he (the U.N. official) counted 45 houses on fire and saw smoke coming up from those that had been burned earlier, Roberts said.

Asked about the situation in Knin, Roberts said that almost all houses and apartment buildings outside the town's center seemed to have been broken in and plundered.

He said clothes, pieces of furniture, children's toys and similar objects had been seen on the local garbage dump.

Roberts said it was not possible to establish precisely how many civilians had been killed and how the Croatian army troops had behaved in the early phase of the military operation because Croatian Army authorities had prevented U.N. personnel from leaving their bases until August 8.

On August 4, when the offensive was launched, Croatian troops fired nearly 1,000 shells on the Serb Krajina administrative center of Knin in the first hour of operations alone.

In a telephone interview with the Sky television network later the same day, Roberts said that Croatian troops were shelling Knin indiscriminately.

Ten days after the aggression, Zagreb is still not releasing any information about the number of killed Serb Krajina civilians and army troops.

However, it hurried to declare European Union mediator Carl Bildt a persona non grata for saying that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman might face war crime charges over the bombing of civilian targets in Krajina towns.

UN: Akashi Barred From Visiting Muslim Refugees

AU1508150895 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 15 (AFP)—Croatian authorities Tuesday [15 August] barred the UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, from visiting 30,000 Bosnian Moslems who fled to Croatia a week ago, a UN officer said.

Akashi was due to visit the region of Vojnic, north of the Bihac enclave, but was stopped by Croatian authorities citing security reasons, he told reporters.

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"I am not convinced by these security reasons," a UN officer said, adding that Croatian troops appeared to be in full control of the region.

Humanitarian organisations have been denied access to the refugees. The Croats want to repatriate them to Velika Kladusa, former stronghold of rebel Moslem warlord Fikret Abdic located north of Bihac, the officer said, requesting anonymity.

Only a small UN humanitarian aid convoy has been allowed access to the refugees last Saturday.

"They lack water, food and the hygiene conditions are bad. They are undesirables, no-one wants them and they are terrified at the prospect of returning home," the officer added.

The refugees are partisans of Abdic, who led a rebellion against Sarajevo backed by the Bosnian Serbs and Croatian Serbs. They fled upon the arrival of Croatian troops of the Fifth Army Corps who lifted the siege on the area.

Among them are sick people who were evacuated from the hospital at Velika Kladusa when the Croatians attacked.

Bosnian and Croatian leaders signed an accord last Wednesday which in theory should allow the refugees to return safely to Velika Kladusa, but the refugees remain unconvinced.

The United Nations said Monday that only around 100 people have so far gone back.

This is the second exodus of Abdic's supporters, who were forced to leave Velika Kladusa in August 1994 when Bosnian government troops moved in. They returned in December when Abdic's militia recaptured the area.

No News on Fate of 11,000 Krajina Refugees

LD1408170595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (SRNA)—The Democratic Party in Serbia said today that it is "shocked" by the fact that for the last two days the government of Serbia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has had no news about 11,000 Krajina refugees held up on the [Zagreb-Belgrade] motorway near Slavonski Brod.

In its statement the party asks how it is possible that neither the Yugoslav nor Serbian authorities have shown any concern for the people who have been "constantly tormented by unbridled Croatian citizens."

Obviously the United Nations does not want to do anything to protect these refugees, the party says, and warns the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that these people "have no chance of surviving unless something is done urgently." [passage indistinct]

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Gligorov, Japanese Envoy Discuss Relations

AU1508093895 Skopje MIC in English 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Ambassador of Japan in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Tsuyoshi Kurokawa, yesterday stayed in Ohrid and was received, in separate visits, by President Kiro Gligorov, and by Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski. During the talks with President Gligorov, there was mutual content expressed about the continual development of the Macedonian-Japanese relations and the cooperation in many fields of common interest. Mutual is the estimate that the total level of contacts is raised and that the interest for economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation with both countries is increased.

On his request, the Japanese ambassador was acquainted with the current matters and with the attitudes of the Republic of Macedonia in relation to the situation in the region.

Albanian Delegation's Visit Assessed

95P20961A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 22 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Hajri Shaqiri: "Selami's Half-Empty Shopping Basket"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent visit of members of the foreign policy commission of the Albanian parliament aroused great interest both here in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and in Albania. This is understandable because this was the first official meeting between the two countries after the worsening of relations resulting from the establishment of the University of Tetova.

Even before he left Tirana, Eduard Selami, the head of the delegation, predicted that it would be an interesting and perhaps dynamic meeting. He said that the fate of relations between the two countries would depend on the results of these meetings. He left with the conviction that, in the Balkans, it was time for a dialogue between the neighbors and for respecting the culture and rights of all peoples, regardless of nationality or religion, He said: "I think that the visit will result in agreements with Macedonian parliament and government members." However, his hopes were dampened. Despite the fact that he promised much, Eduard Selami achieved little during his visit to Skopje and he returned to Tirana with the hope that the other half of the shopping basket would be filled sometime later.

He was not able to convince the Macedonian officials that the right to a university is a natural right of Albanians and that the sooner the University of Tetova is legalized, the better it will be for the two countries and, especially, for Macedonia. The Macedonian parliament and government members, once again, demonstrated that they were narrow-minded, stubborn, and not willing to give an inch in regard to any changes, actually improvements, in the position of the Albanians. They said that the national minorities in Macedonia, including and, in particular, the Albanians, have all the rights which are stipulated in international documents and, in some areas, they have even more rights than these documents stipulate. In order to take advantage of the guests, they resorted to the principle of reciprocity, despite the affirmations of the Albanian parliament members that no comparison could be made between the number of Albanians in Macedonia and the number of Macedonians in Albania. Minister of Education Simoska, in particular, stressed the issue of reciprocity when the Albanians insisted on the legalization of the University of Tetova. According to the minister, Albanians in Macedonia will have a university when there is a similar institution for Macedonians in Albania. Otherwise, Simoska says, Albanians will never have a university. The person hosting the visit of the Albanian parliament members, the chairman of the foreign policy commission of the Assembly of Macedonia, Ilinka Mitreva, has the same opinion about the University of Tetova. Although this issue was not brought up in the commissions, she did not hesitate to express her opinion on it at the press conference. She said that the education issue should be resolved by legal means, in the framework of the institutions of the system and in accordance with the Constitution of Macedonia.

In brief, the Macedonian parliament and government members made it known to the Albanian parliament members that they do not want to discuss the improvement of the position of the Albanians in Macedonia and that they are allergic, in particular, to the subject of the University of Tetova.

The concrete meaning of all this—the legal resolution of the issue in the framework of institutions of the system—is best illustrated by the Macedonian parliament session held the day before yesterday. After a long debate on the courts, the Macedonian parliament members rejected the proposal of the Albanians for the establishment of a court of appeals in Western Macedonia and the law was approved without the Albanians' participation. But, in this case, they forgot that they received a big minus in the eyes of Maz Van Der Stoel, the official of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] (who is currently in Skopje). This can be decisive for acceptance into the Council of Europe, at whose door Macedonia has been knocking for a long time.

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It appears that Macedonian officials will continue for a long time, to easily outvote the Albanians in the parliament and to consider the discussions with the Albanians (which take place with the help of international mediators) to be unimportant talks which, according to them [the officials], are carried on just to pass time.

Nevertheless, during his stay in Macedonia, Eduard Selami did not conceal his satisfaction with the fact that the two countries, despite their conflicts, were able to make the first steps toward cooperation. He said that it is good that the problems have been put on the table for discussion, but, at the same time, he promised that Albania will not support Macedonia in the Council of Europe if Macedonia does not improve the status of the Albanians.

Former Envoy to U.S. Urges 'Equidistance'

AU1508093795 Skopje MIC in English 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "For me, and it is bipartisan, the politics of equidistance is a conservative approach. That concept has a preventive character and requests defensive behavior in our complex neighboring surrounding," stated Vasil Tupurkovski, former member of the Presidency of the SFRY and former Macedonian envoy to the United States, in an interview for the Macedonian Television. He added also that "Therefore, much more adequate concept would be the active cooperation with all of the neighbors. If we go into the character of the relations which we have achieved with the neighboring countries, it comes out that we do not have a big positive balance. We have to have an initiative for versatile cooperation with the neighbors for the negative dimensions to be converted into our positive credit."

Regarding the Macedonian-Greek problem, Tupurkovski claims that in the country that problem unjustifiably does not have the treatment of a vital state interest:

"In Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], the public knows very little about that and it cannot participate in creating a climate which will give directions and inspirations to the politics regarding our position in the negotiations. On the other hand, because of the lack of consensus, not only in the political relations, we suffer in those negotiations. We do not have to prove how endurable we are or how definitively determined we are in defending the most holy, let us say, Macedonia's postulates in this dispute. We should look after the interests of the citizens and the interests of the state."

Regarding the achieved degree of development of the democratic relations in the country, Tupurkovski considers that this country "cannot have an alibi for the still not encircled political system." "For such a situation a responsibility should be overtaken. Repercussions are huge. When the political system doesn't function in its integrity, the changes can be conducted without any regulated political relations and without definite rules of the game. And therefore there are the deviations which occupied this area, vacuum, which is on their disposal because of the non-completed system."

Regarding the resolution of the Albanian question in Kosovo, Tupurkovski estimates: "Albanian question will not be solved isolated, outside of Macedonia. In that case, too, we have to say where we stand or to go into that problem much more seriously. Multiethnic incidents and problems are a big minus for the country."

Army Shows Peacetime Uses of MI-17 Helicopters

AU1508093695 Skopje MIC in English 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Last Saturday, in the airbase of Petrovec Airport and around the lake "Mladost" that is close to Veles, a demonstration of the peaceful-time possibilities of the transportation helicopters MI-17 from the military air-forces and the anti-air force defense of the Army of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] took place. At the demonstration the transportation of goods and extinguishing a fire was presented. Major Goran Zdravkovski, commander of this air force brigade, stated that the helicopters can be used also for the needs of the electrical industry, forestry, for medical and humanitarian needs, during natural disasters and during road control.

According to Colonel Mile Manolev, commander of the military air force and anti-air force defense, the helicopters can transport 25-40 cut out or stranded people and can land on any kind of territory.

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ZChN's Iwanicki To Head Presidential Chancellery

WS1408122895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14-15 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by "JACH, KRZEM": "Iwanicki Takes Over After Kwiatkowski; Head of the Chancellery"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Stanislaw Iwanicki, deputy prosecutor general for the last four years, is to become the new head of the presidential Chancellery.*

According to ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Iwanicki has already handed in his resignation from the prosecutor's office and obtained Lech Walesa's nomination. Iwanicki himself did not deny the report, but he refused to comment on it for a week.

He was appointed to the post of deputy prosecutor general in 1991 by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, who was prime minister at the time. Under consecutive justice ministers (Wieslaw Chrzanowski, Zbigniew Dyka, Jan Piatkowski of the National-Christian Union—ZChN, and Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of the Democratic Left Alliance—SLD), Iwanicki was in charge of the prosecutor's office. He supervised the most important investigations. Only SLD Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia moved him to the side tracks.

Iwanicki is to take over as head of the presidential Chancellery after Tomasz Kwiatkowski, a lawyer and ZChN activist, "fell from Walesa's grace" for struggling for power within the Chancellery with head of the Presidential Office Mieczyslaw Wachowski (who deprived him of formal supervision over the organizational and human resources bureaus) and fiercely attacked ZChN chairman Ryszard Czarnecki. Walesa wants the support of this party in the presidential elections very much.

That support has recently dropped dramatically. Czarnecki and Chrzanowski prefer the candidacy of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. Demoting Kwiatkowski to a lower post in the Chancellery may be a further concession made by Walesa to ZChN after having nominated Marek Jurek to head the National Radio and Television Council. Other eminent ZChN politicians in the president's closest surroundings are the head of the National Security Office, Henryk Goryszewski, and Andrzej Marcinkowski.

"Iwanicki was without doubt fully at the disposal of the Belweder," Center Accord chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski told us yesterday. He recalled that in 1991, when he himself headed the Chancellery and Slawomir Siwek was his deputy, Iwanicki unexpectedly turned up asking for "directives" and announced his readiness to carry out the Chancellery's instructions.

Defense Ministry Considering Purchase of F-16's

WS1408141595 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 14-15 Aug 95 p 9

[Article by "GOL": "What Planes Will Defend the Polish Sky?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Our fighter aviation is outdated. Poland must modernize it over the next two or three years. The MiG-21 planes we are currently using must be replaced," said Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski.*

The MiG-21's are now at the end of their useful life. We have 220 in stock. What are they to be replaced with? The purchase of 100 fighters is being considered. A group of experts is due to arrive to Poland this summer. They are to disclose details, including classified technical parameters, of the F-16 Fighting Falcons. The purchase of F-16's was already discussed during the time of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government. An air show is scheduled for 27 August in Deblin. Apart from the F-16's, fighters from Sweden, Great Britain, France, and Russia are also to be demonstrated.

Some of these countries are competing for a contract to supply their own planes to Poland. The Swedes are trying to raise our interests in their Jas-39 Grippen; the French, in their Mirage 2000; Russia, in the Su-27 it has already presented in Berlin and in Paris. This fighter is widely acclaimed and considered to be one of the best models produced in recent years. We are also being offered the Eurofighter, manufactured by a European consortium.

Even the U.S. Embassy reacted to press reports alleging the F-16 is outdated. It stated that these planes are unique and that they are continually upgraded. Models C and D, as the Embassy claims, are of the "newest generation." The older models (A and B) are also "excellent planes that will continue to serve the U.S. Air Force for the next 20 years."

As we learned at the Ministry of National Defense, all these offers are being considered. New fighters are needed. They are also very expensive. Each of the aforementioned planes costs at least $20 million, although the price span is huge—differences are sometimes in the millions of dollars. This is the price of the plane alone. What about the whole infrastructure: missiles, ammunition? The decision is not an easy one.

In case "the enemy is at our door," we are to be protected by the 25th Division of the Air Defense Cavalry that was established in June last year. The new unit is to be made up of the best enlisted men and cadres. The chief commander is Colonel Wlodzimierz Michalski.

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Candidates have to go through tests similar to those for the Red Berets [6th Airborne Division].

The division is to have 150 ground support helicopters, mostly Polish Huzars. One Huzar in the standard version is to cost approximately 30 billion [zlotys]. Fittings will raise that price by 50-100 percent.

Deputy Prime Minister on Szczecin Maritime Policy

MM1508085295 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5-6 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Krystyna Pohl: "A Briefcase Full of Promises. I Will Come Back When a Comprehensive Maritime Policy Program Is Ready"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A week ago, on 29 and 30 July, Professor Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, visited Szczecin and the Szczecin Coast. He paid a visit to Swinoujscie and the Wolin National Park. His sojourn in our region lasted 36 hours.

"It was a lot of hard work," Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko says, "even though the tone of the reports in certain papers indicated that I came here for a rest. There was not an ounce of truth in that, as I was faced here with a day and a half of a true working marathon. I did not spend such a long time in any of the other voivodships I visited. I came here, to the place 'where Poland begins,' to get to know the problems of this region, take a closer look at the condition of our maritime economy in action, and find out how people live here and what can be done to make things better.

"I am leaving with very good impressions. I believe that the overall situation in Poland would be much better if things were run as they are run here. The developments currently under way at the Szczecin Shipyard are truly impressive. I support the ambition shared by the Szczecin Shipyard and the Polish Marine Shipping to set up capital groups with the structure of a holding. I am very much impressed by the activity of the Maritime Lobby. It is a most constructive and creative group. It has gathered together a team of professionals and enthusiasts of our maritime affairs."

During his visit Kolodko met with representatives of state administration, local self-government structures, Sejm deputies from the Szczecin Region, and representatives of shipowning, shipbuilding, and maritime port enterprises. The talks were dominated by matters maritime. And there was nothing surprising in that. For one thing, there are many problems involved and, for another, that particular branch of the economy influences the development of our region and determines its wealth. It is here and not anywhere else that the Polish Maritime Shipping, which is one of the world's biggest shipowning companies, has its headquarters. It is here that one of the world's largest shipyards, Szczecin Shipyard SA, is situated. And one out of three of our voivodship's inhabitants lives off the proceeds, direct or indirect, of our maritime economy sector.

Before his arrival in Szczecin, Kolodko gave an interview to GLOS SZCZECINSKI in which he warned us that he was not coming here with a briefcase full of money. But he expressed the hope that he would be leaving with a briefcase full of specific ideas and proposals.

He certainly did find those. And after the talks he held here, even more room was found in his briefcase to fit in a number of his own promises and declarations. Some were pledged to be fulfilled as soon as possible, and others were to be met immediately.

It is these promises that I am interested in. We are talking about them in Warsaw, in the deputy prime minister's rooms at the Council of Ministers' Office. It is late afternoon in the middle of the week, with the oppressive summer heat pouring in through the windows.

The first promise concerned the ferry crossing at Swinoujscie.

"I have already transferred 5 billion [old] zlotys [Z] into the Szczecin Voivoda's fund. The Voivoda will add Z2 billion to that sum. The total amount will be sufficient to keep the ferry crossing in Swinoujscie open 24 hours. The long lines of cars waiting to cross the strait at that point will become a thing of the past."

The second promise involved fuel for Polish vessels.

At present, the situation is such that ships sailing under the Polish flag are obliged to pay more for fuel in Polish ports than vessels sailing under foreign colors. As a result, Polish vessels buy their fuel abroad. They thus spend more than $100 million in foreign currencies outside our country rather than on the domestic market.

"Immediately after my return to Warsaw I saw to it that certain interim solutions were put into practice. These involved the introduction of a tariff-free fuel quota for the Polish fleet, which will enable ships of the Polish national fleet to obtain fuel in Polish ports and reactivate a range of port services, especially as estimates carried out by our experts indicate that none of these measures will deplete our budget revenues. Once the Council of Ministers has approved these solutions, the relevant regulation will go into effect. When will this happen? I am convinced that it will be very soon."

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The third promise concerned attempts to undertake appropriate actions to curtail the phenomenon of reflagging.

Polish ships are effecting a mass retreat from the national fleet to sail under foreign flags. They are unable to meet the liabilities resulting from the current financial, tax, and customs regulations in force. And the existing Polish banking and credit system, as well as the terms of calculating the costs of depreciation, are not favorable when it comes to considering a renewal of our fleet. Foreign flags offer better terms and opportunities.

"I would also like to see a ferry as beautiful and modern as the Polonia sailing under a Polish flag," Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko admitted. "However, shipowners are not guided by sentiment but by the harsh realities of economic calculation of costs and profits in their choice of flags under which to sail their ships. And it is a good thing that they are able to make use of such opportunities. Nevertheless, I believe that we should make every effort to get Polish ships to sail under the Polish flag. Even so, we cannot expect them to be subsidized by the state budget. After carrying out a thorough analysis of the whole situation, I decided to institute actions aimed at changing the principles of calculating the depreciation costs, which affects the profitability and the economic calculation of costs and profits of all shipping companies. These changes will be introduced in stages. I would like to see their effects felt by shipowners as soon as next year. And when the appropriate solutions are ready, I would also like to discuss them with Szczecin's Maritime Lobby and with the shipowners' representatives themselves. I believe these solutions will improve the condition of our shipping companies, pave the way for the renewal of our fleet, and contribute to a reduction of the phenomenon of reflagging."

The fourth promise concerned the seaports act. You had announced that you would introduce an uncompromising solution. What would be nature of such a solution?

"First of all, it would be introduced with immediate effect. The whole case has been dragging on for four years now, but our government will now do everything in its power to resolve it as soon as possible. Last Thursday this matter was discussed by the Council of Ministers Economic Committee. I am in favor of a solution that would offer the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie the most effective course of action based on firm economic principles. This means that they should not compete against each other, thus giving priority to local interests, but cooperate with each other in the interests of the region and, in a broader framework, in the interest of the national economy. When I held talks on this subject in Szczecin in Swinoujscie, I became aware of the emotions the whole topic engendered on both sides, concealed behind the regular economic arguments. But it is not emotions that will decide the matter here. The prointegration links existing between the two ports should be far stronger than their tendencies toward autonomy, although of course the interests of each side should be taken into consideration. Even so, we must remember that the final decision here rests with the Sejm. In any case, the Government will propose a solution that should reconcile local and more general social interests."

The fifth promise concerned the construction of Nowoclowy Bridge.

The Deputy Prime Minister confirmed his earlier announcement made in Szczecin. "The 1966 budget will set aside the amount of Z200 billion for the construction of Nowoclowy Bridge."

Contrary to expectations, no more promises were made on that occasion. Those assembled had hoped to hear the deputy prime minister give priority status to the construction of the A-3 freeway. In addition, the deep-sea fishing companies were hoping to be offered some financial support, perhaps in the form of tax concessions.

"It is more likely that the proposed 'parallel freeway' oriented in the east-west direction will be given priority status in our highway construction program. In the last resort, the decision will rest with the shareholders of the freeway construction consortium and the analysis of economic profitability. If there is enough money, there is no reason why the two proposed 'meridian freeways,' the A-3 and the A-2, should not be built at the same time.

"As regards our deep-sea fishing industry, the sector is at the moment going through a transition period. It has found itself in an entirely new situation. I am certainly interested in its survival, but that must not be achieved at the taxpayer's expense. We cannot possibly subsidize its operations. A new opportunity for cooperation has emerged for our deep-sea fishing industry, and it should be investigated and taken advantage of. We are not sure today to what an extent fishing in the Sea of Okhotsk is feasible for us. Its profitability has to be weighed against the costs of the fishing license, the trawler fleet's running and maintenance expenses, and the market prices for the fish. I believe that we will have a fuller picture of the situation in a few months' time."

We have been talking about the positive impressions you gathered during your visit to the Szczecin coast. Did you get any negative impressions?

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just a few examples, out of thousands of significant and much-needed projects.

[Waszczuk] What role does the KBN play in promoting Polish science, and is this role adequate?

The main task of the KBN is to finance scientific research. We also try to promote science and its accomplishments. We provide financial assistance for the organization of exhibitions, technology fairs, and scientific conferences. We provide supplemental financing for participation by scientists in international exhibitions of inventions and scientific/science-promoting literature. We also try to present the accomplishments of research teams in the mass media. However, these are costly undertakings, and in this matter we are constrained by meager funds.

On the other hand, the KBN is not in a position to present all accomplishments that merit advertising. The scientists themselves should take more care to present their developments and accomplishments. This is also in their own interest. We are also concerned about a lack of interest in science on the part of the mass media. Columns devoted to science have disappeared in the press. Science-promotion programs on TV are broadcast mainly in the morning. We recently noted an interesting initiative of the Main Council of Research and Development Establishments, which sponsored a competition for journalists specializing in scientific topics. This may encourage interest in the accomplishments of scientists. I am grateful to the editorial offices, including that of RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE, that appreciate the significance of research for the future of our country. I would like other newspapers to follow suit.

Foreign Investment Statistics To Be Monitored

WS1408141695 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 12-13 Aug 95 p 20

[Article by Hanna Nowakowska: "The State Agency for Foreign Investment; How To Count the Capital?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Even though foreign investments constitute one of the most essential factors in economic growth, information concerning such investments is delayed and incomplete. Outside of Warsaw, often the only source of information on foreign capital is the local press.*

The government wants to create a system of collecting data that would allow one to quickly learn where and in what foreign capital is investing. Such analysis is necessary in order to conduct economic policy. Likewise, the parliament, the media, investors themselves, and society at large are all interested in the state of investments.

The Mayor Will Tell You the Truth

In the meantime, in Poland the amount of foreign investment is not exactly known. The quoted sum of $5.4 billion applies only to the 300 largest investors who have invested in Poland at least $1 million. Yet there are almost 21,000 companies with foreign capital. according to Andrzej Kaczmarek, vice president of the State Agency for Foreign Investment [PAIZ], "It's reached the point that our only source of information is the press, especially the regional press. I am always astonished when I'm out in the provinces and some local town mayor or official is able to provide me, from memory, with all the statistics on 'his' investments."

That is why, in the program adopted in May on industrial policy for 1995-1007 called "The International Competitiveness of Polish Industry," the government decided to create a system, to monitor foreign investments, that would generate reports on the state of investments. PAIZ would publish two of these reports every year.

Everyone Knows a Little

The Main Office of Statistics [GUS] has the most complete statistics on investments. Unfortunately, they are delayed by many months, since they result from questionnaires for joint venture firms attached to annual reports. For example, GUS put together the statistics for 1994 just in July of this year.

Furthermore, the questionnaire currently in use does not include many important questions. In the case of multinational firms, it is not known what portion of capital comes from what country, nor does it analyze what portion of profits is reinvested.

Many ministries and institutions deal with foreign investments: The Ministry of Finance provides foreign investors with tax breaks. The Ministry of Interior Affairs grants permission to sell land to foreigners. The Ministry of Privatization grants concessions for limited activities: legal services, real estate sales, management of sea ports and mines. PAIZ Vice President Kaczmarek, who is coordinating the work on the system for monitoring investments, says: "The question arises whether it is possible to paste together a reasonable total picture from all this rudimentary data. Can the data on real estate acquired by foreigners be sensibly exploited? After all, the point is not simply to have the data, but to make use of it in economic policy management."

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First GUS and Public-Opinion Polls

PAIZ accepted the proposition that the primary source of information must be GUS. It is now preparing a new questionnaire for joint venture firms that may be obligatory as early as next year. It is also likely that the survey will be conducted twice each year rather than just annually, which would allow for faster processing of information.

On the other hand, results of a public-opinion poll on people's attitude to foreign investments in specific regions of Poland will be ready in the fall. "This will be the first public-opinion poll on such a scale," says Kaczmarek. "We will finally find out what people think about foreign capital."

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Economic Obstacles to EU Membership Considered

MS1508100195 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 15 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Virginia Marsh: "Romania's Goal Is Clear, Its Ability Less So"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Wanting to join the European Union is one of the few things everyone agrees on in Romanian politics. Indeed, trade unions, company directors, non-governmental organisations, academics, economists and politicians all had a hand in formulating a national strategy to prepare the country for membership.

At the initiative of President Ion Iliescu after the EU's Essen summit last December, they met in some 200 sessions over five months at the lakeside resort of Snagov, just north of Bucharest, to discuss how to achieve it.

And in the end all parliamentary parties signed the declaration that accompanied the country's formal application in June.

That was the easy bit.

For the country started the reform process with one of the most distorted economies and closed societies in the former East bloc after suffering a particularly repressive and destructive form of communism under dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Romania is also ethnically diverse and is situated on the fringes of Europe in one of the continent's least developed regions.

This legacy, coupled with a poor infrastructure and an economy dependent on agriculture, means that, in many senses, the differences between Romania and central European countries such as the Czech Republic and Hungary is as great as the gap between those countries and the EU. Per capita gross domestic product in Romania with its 23m inhabitants was about $1,200 last year compared with nearly $4,000 in Hungary and about $8,000 in Greece.

According to World Bank estimates, agriculture provided employment for around 35 per cent of the workforce and accounted for 21 per cent of GDP in 1993. This compared with 17 per cent of employment and 9 per cent of GDP in neighbouring Bulgaria and with 6.5 per cent of employment and 4.5 per cent of GDP in the Czech Republic.

To the annoyance of the frontrunners for membership who fear they will be held back by less developed countries such as Romania, the EU has so far adopted a uniform approach to former communist states with Europe agreements.

Like other countries in the region, EU regulations and norms have formed the basis for much of the legislation passed since 1990, says Mr Ghiorghi Prisacaru, head of the government's European integration department.

He adds that in future all draft laws will be vetted by a new parliamentary committee for European integration formed in June.

"EU departments set up in March in every ministry are the first filter to ensure laws comply with EU regulations," he says. "The committee will also form the necessary lobby in parliament."

Diplomats say the Snagov meetings were important in stimulating debate but that the strategy is little more than a list of objectives and does not focus on the practical implications of change.

There is also concern that the government, a leftist coalition which includes extreme nationalists, is encouraging unrealistic expectations among the population and that, while outwardly it supports European integration, it is not committed enough to reform to make EU membership a possibility in the near future.

"The government is not preparing the people adequately," says a western diplomat. "The strategy mentions the date of the year 2000. When Romania does not meet this target, there will be a lovely opportunity for a nationalist backlash."

Analysts add that so far Romania has been slower than other countries to comply with some requirements of the association agreement. For example, the country should have a functioning anti-monopoly law and provisions to enforce it by the beginning of next year. It should also have rules for identifying and authorising state aid. It has neither.

"The competition law spent two years in government and has been in parliament since the end of last year," says an EU official. "Is this what we call urgency in implementing EU regulations? No-one is even talking about other obligations such as laws on procurement and intellectual property."

Analysts doubt matters will improve in the near future. The legislative process is complicated, the government has a minority in parliament and the ruling parties' main concern is local and general elections next year.

Like other countries in the region, part of the problem is also a shortage of civil servants familiar with EU norms and a public administration weakened by mass defections of technocrats to the more lucrative private sector.

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In Romania, however, this problem has been exacerbated by pervasive corruption and by the government's determination to staff ministries with those loyal to the ruling parties rather than the competent. This has made it difficult for the EU and other western donors to provide technical assistance.

In spite of the slow pace of reform and delays in restructuring state industries, much of the basic legislation for a market economy exists and has enabled the emergence of a dynamic private sector. This already accounts for 35-40 per cent of GDP, up from virtually zero in 1989 and contributed to growth of 3.4 per cent last year.

The country has also successfully redirected its trade towards the EU, away from former Comecon markets. The EU accounted for 52 per cent of Romania's exports in the first half of this year, up from around 30 per cent in 1989.

Much will also depend on the stance towards enlargement adopted by EU members at next year's intergovernmental conference on the EU's internal reforms.

Diplomats say Romania's entry into the EU would be easier if the 15 were to opt for a multi-speed Europe with different categories of membership. Romania could then join an outer circle of countries committed to achieving full membership, but with fewer s rights and fewer obligations in the meantime. This would spare the EU the huge amounts of structural funds needed to overhaul the Romanian economy, and would also make it easier for Bucharest to accept faster integration of central European countries into the EU.

Crisan, Czech Counterpart Sign Trade Accord

LD1408173795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and his Romanian counterpart, Petru Crisan, have signed in Bucharest new rules on the implementation of the agreement on free trade zone. Our special correspondent Vladislav Kulhavy has more details.

[Kulhavy] Vladimir Dlouhy believes that the new rules will result in a substantial liberalization of trade and the scrapping of red tape in the implementation of the agreement on free trade zone. According to the project, the cuts in customs charges will be substantially bigger. At the beginning of 1996, some customs fees are to drop by 70 rather than by the originally planned 50 percent.

Dlouhy and Crisan have also agreed to deal with the old Romanian debt to the tune of less than 22 million convertible rubles. The debt will be settled by the Romanian side in goods such as ARO cars and various chemical products.

The two officials have agreed that bilateral trade should reach at least its 1989 level. A number of top officials from large companies such as Skoda Export, Motokov, Chemapol, or Vitkovice are part of the Czech delegation. Their objective is to place products for metal industry as well as motorcycles and cars on the Romanian market. The possibilities for cooperation in power industry, heavy engineering, oil, and pharmaceutical industry are also being considered.

Nastase, Moldova's Lucinschi Examine Relations

AU1508091495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Petru Lucinschi, speaker of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova, who is currently spending a vacation in Romania, was received today by Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. According to the statement of the Chisinau parliament speaker, the sides examined general aspects of the relations between the two countries and problems pertaining to the parliamentary mechanism.

Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, described his meeting with the Moldovan guest as extremely useful and said that they reviewed the overall situation in the two countries. Mr. Nastase also said that before the start of the parliamentary session, they discussed ways and means for cooperation between the legislators of the two countries in the Bucharest-Chisinau Interparliamentary Council, as well as other steps to give new impetus to this mechanism, our correspondent, Luminita Apostol, reports.

Official Urges Further Nuclear Energy Development

AU1508090195 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Aug 95 p 10

[Interview with Professor Dr. S.N. Rapeanu, general director of the National Agency for Nuclear Agency, by Alexandru Economu; place and date not given: "Nuclear Energy—The Solution for the Near Future"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Economu] What role does nuclear energy play in the energy framework of the future, particularly with regard to Romania?

[Rapeanu] With the commissioning of Unit One of the nuclear power plant (CNE) Cernavoda, the Romanian energy sector is for the first time in a position to choose fusion fuel in addition to fossil fuel. This option will be dictated not only by political considerations (linked by the restructuring of the mining sector), but primarily by economic and environmental considerations.

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It is certain that the energy of the future will be ecological, secure, and efficient. In this respect, nuclear energy has a decisive advantage, despite the large initial investment. [passage omitted]

For Romania, nuclear energy has yet to prove its superiority; this proof will undoubtedly be supplied by Unit One (U1) of CNE-Cernavoda. Maybe we should recall that this nuclear power plant is the result of 25 years of outstanding research, design, technological, and industrial activities. This required great financial and human efforts, which have eventually materialized into more or less successful programs. [passage omitted]

[Economu] Is Romania prepared to implement nuclear energy?

[Rapeanu] The manufacture of the first equipment for U1 Cernavoda facilitated the development of a nuclear industry, involving the insurance of quality work throughout the design-construction-assembly-commissioning-exploitation cycle and training personnel in specific technologies in accordance with international requirements in the field. We should remember that Romania has proved that U1 is capable of manufacturing important and high quality equipment. [passage omitted] Therefore, one can ascertain that Romania currently has a nuclear industry, built at high costs. The problem now is how to maintain this industry, because the delay in deciding on the other Cernavoda units has caused significant disturbance, which risks affecting the industry.

[Economu] Will there be an international working group for the CANDU-type reactors, like the Cernavoda one, with Romanian participation?

[Rapeanu] A meeting took place in Vienna from 19 to 21 June 1992, under the aegis of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], to finalize a common position on setting up an International Working Group for Moderate Heavy Water Reactors (IWGHWR). This reflects the growing interest at the world level for this kind of reactor, which is also used in our country. [passage omitted] The meeting, which I also attended, recommended that IAEA set up the IWGHWR to improve the manufacture of equipment, increase nuclear security and economic performance parameters, and better utilize fusion material. The exchange of information and research cooperation on this subject will benefit all group members, which include Argentina, Canada, China, Korea, India, Japan, Pakistan, and Romania. [passage omitted]

[Economu] How does one ensure the coordination of nuclear activities at international and national levels?

[Rapeanu] Coordination at the international level is ensured by the IAEA. [passage omitted] In accordance with the discussion held by Romania's president and prime minister with IAEA General Director Dr. Hans Blix—when the Romanian side accepted the recommendation that the nuclear authority function as a government specialized body—we set up the National Agency for Nuclear Energy-ANEA. [passage omitted]

The complex nature of the implementation of the national nuclear program requires the endorsement, as soon as possible, of the Law on the Promotion of Nuclear Activities.

Article Identifies Minister as Securitate Man

AU1508085495 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 9 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Doru Mares: "From Vadim's Courtyard to the Post of Culture Ministry State Secretary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The leadership of the ruling coalition has become richer by one state secretary with the promotion of Sever Mesca, who so far has worked in that post in a different ministry. Ever since the Mangalia theses of the executed one [reference to Ceausescu's famous 1983 theses on the role of culture in the multilaterally developed socialist society] nothing should surprise anyone anymore. How did the Scornicesti oak tree put it? "If farming is done out in the fields, why should culture be done in office buildings?" Thus, there is no genuine difference between culture, agriculture, or sailing. Sever Mesca, a former shipping officer, Romanian trade attache in Rome, covert Securitate agent, according to Pacepa's revelation, and a notable PRM [Greater Romania Party] personality, managed a few years ago to obtain the post of director of the Ministry of Culture International Relations Directorate. At about the same time, another big shot from Vadim's [PRM President Corneliu Vadim Tudor] courtyard, folksong star Mica was appointed counselor of the minister of culture and started making decisions on who among the Romanian cultural personalities was to be allowed to travel abroad at the ministry's expense and who was not. His reaction to the Romanian Opera's tour in Great Britain remains famous, his remark being that in his opinion Britain is a "pro-Semitic" country. The directorate led by Mesca kept sending out verbal or written messages rejecting every cultural movement that could potentially oppose the current political rulers. Eventually, the ruling coalition parties managed to strike a deal in the case of the Ministry of Culture state secretaries—this is something one could really call market economy—and thus Mitzura Arghezi [originally proposed for that post by the PRM] remained what she was, that is, PRM vice

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president, while Mesca, who proved to be tougher, won the contest and was appointed state secretary, now being the companion of [Mihai] Ungheanu, the other state secretary. However, if the picture is examined carefully, in the background there can be seen the silhouette of [Ladislau] Hegedus [cultural leader during the Ceausescu era], behind whom is the contour of the Cotroceni Palace [presidential headquarters].

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Federal

Kontic Asks EU To Appeal to Croatia

LD1408172695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic sought Monday that the European Union should appeal to Croatia to end aggression, war crimes and ethnic cleansing of the Serb people and to accept negotiations with representatives of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

In his letter to E.U. Chairman Felipe Gonzalez, Kontic also sought that the European Union should take a stand towards the undelayed lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia, bearing in view the fact that Yugoslavia reaffirmed itself as an inavoidable peace factor.

Kontic emphasized that the Republic of Croatia's armed aggression against Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina meant a heavy blow to the peace process sponsored by the international community, especially in the domain of the Contact Group and the Z-4 plan.

Kontic said that Yugoslavia has always striven for a peaceable political settlement of all problems arising from unilateral secessions and breakup of former Yugoslavia.

Kontic voiced Yugoslavia's firm confidence that the negotiations between the equal sides and the guarantees of equal national and other rights of all peoples were constituting the only right path to a lasting and just solution, to the stabilization, equal development for all, and association with other parts of Europe, particularly with the European Union.

In addition to an acute danger of the spreading of war and jeopardizing stability in the broader region, Croatia's brutal aggression caused huge humanitarian problems unparalleled in European history over the last 50 years, said Kontic.

Kontic recalled that 500,000 refugees had already been in the territory of Yugoslavia. Together with more than 100,000 expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina who had already arrived, more tens of thousands, and probably hundreds of thousands, refugees are expected to arrive in the coming days. This causes huge problems of caring for and accommodating the refugees, he said.

In explaining the demand for the sanctions against Yugoslavia to be lifted, Kontic said that the maintenance of sanctions was only favouring the proponents of the war option and was generating durable destabilization, while affecting the economy and populations of a large number of countries in the region, and was aggravating economic and democratic transition.

Yugoslavia has fulfilled all the demands from U.N. resolutions, stressed Kontic and concluded that the European Union's initiative towards the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia would only be logical, bearing in mind that the E.U. had introduced sanctions against Yugoslavia still before it was done by the U.N. Security Council.

Serbia

U.S. Criticized Over Placing Refugees in Kosovo

LD1408171295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 August (Tanjug)—The Serbian Renewal Movement today said that, in expressing concern over the accommodation of a certain number of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina in Kosovo and Metohija, the U.S. Administration has not contributed to resolving the refugee problem.

"In this difficult situation, the state of Serbia has the sovereign right to accommodate refugees throughout its territory, wherever conditions exist," says a statement forwarded to TANJUG.

At the moment of a huge human catastrophe, the party says, it is far more important that the United States, like other Western countries, should provide aid instead of politicizing the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of people.

Minister Says 128,806 Krajina Refugees Arrived

AU1408190595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Republican Staff for Aid to Refugees and Republican Commissariat for Refugees have been holding a news conference at the International Press Center in Belgrade. It was said at the conference that the Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina have been crossing the border of the FRY unhampered at Badovinci and Sremska Raca. Marina Stojadinovic has the details:

[Begin recording] By 0700 today, 128,806 expellees from the Republic of Serb Krajina had crossed into the FRY. Yesterday 15,698 people arrived. By the way, the border crossings at Badovinci and Sremska Raca are functioning normally, so rumors about their being closed are untrue, Aleksa Jokic, chairman of the Republican Staff for Aid to Refugees and republican minister for transport and communications, said and added that, using statistics from their own point of view, some humanitarian organizations are often providing incorrect data on the number of refugees.

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Bratislava Morina, the republican commissioner for refugees, thinks that the humanitarian aid by individual international organizations is inadequate, although they have joined in the provision of aid. The problem of organizing [word indistinct] directing convoys into two directions: toward Banja Luka and the FRY. One part is sent to border crossings as well. (?This is done) by the UNHCR [UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees] and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The greatest amount of aid was received by the Yugoslav Red Cross and the Red Cross of the Republic of Serbia. The Russian Federation has sent 90 metric tons of aid of the value of $2.5 million, and 50 cargo ships with 20 metric tons of food are on the way. A large number of prefabricated houses for accommodating those expelled are also expected.

The Republican Refugee Commissariat has received children's food and medicine to the value of $600,000 from UNICEF. The aid has arrived from France, Greece, Cyprus, the Netherlands, and Germany. Resources are also being sent by domestic firms and individuals. However, as Morina pointed out, the international community must be more objective in assessing the situation on the Republic of Serb Krajina territory and in providing the aid for these poor people. On this occasion, a meeting of the international humanitarian organizations on the FRY territory will be held tomorrow with a view to acquainting them with the grave humanitarian situation.

Asked by a journalist if there was a blockage at the crossing of the Drina, Minister Jokic pointed out that there was a blockage of the column moving toward Modrica and added the following:

[Jokic] Cooperation was lacking with the authorities of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina]. We have possessed and still possess information that there have been a large number of people threatened and helpless: women, children, and old people. We managed to give priority to transporting these and [words indistinct] teams who worked all the time on the Banja Luka-Bijeljina road and were selecting people and directing them toward the Bijeljina railroad station to enable them to be quickly transported by train and sent to places in Serbia. In this respect, we sent a request to the authorities of the Serb Republic to [word indistinct] regrouping of the people, who will simultaneously cross at the three border crossings, depending on their state of health and the situation they are in.

[Stojadinovic] Morina was asked about humanitarian aid from the United States. Mrs. Morina pointed out that not a single dollar has been received from the U.S. Government and that she did not believe that this miracle would ever happen.

Pale Leadership Blamed for Fall of Krajina

AU1508093395 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Radmilo Bogdanovic, president of the Serbian National Assembly's Committee for Relations With Serbs Outside of Serbia, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Negotiations Are the Only Way"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The brutal aggression of the Croatian Army on the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] has met with general disapproval, and that is doubtless, but now it is time to sit down at the negotiating table. Some illusions that territories could be won back through a counterattack by the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina are not a solution. It would be a proper catastrophe if the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were drawn into this war," Radmilo Bogdanovic, president of the Serbian National Assembly's Committee for Relations With Serbs Outside of Serbia, said about the latest aggression of Croatia on the RSK.

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] There are rumors that Knin, Banija, and Kordun fell so fast because it had been agreed in advance—that is, because they had been sold.

"I do not want to talk about the rumors that they were sold because that is not a fact. However, it is a fact that the reasons for the fast defeat lie in the unreasonable moves of the Pale [Bosnian Serb] leadership and in their refusing to accept the Contact Group plan as a basis for a final solution on the territories of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which directly influenced the positions of the RSK—namely, the defense of its [word illegible] according to the Vance Plan," Bogdanovic says. "Now it is clear to everybody," our interlocutor adds, "that, if the Pale leadership had accepted the peace plan over a year ago, Resolution 820 would not have been imposed on Serbia and the FRY, which put a wire between us on one side and Europe and the world on the other. Their war option and the refusal to constitute the Serbian Republic [RS] on 49 percent of the territory [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] for one-third of the population of former Bosnia-Herzegovina resulted in the creation of the Croat-Muslim federation and in the pressure on Serbs and the Serb side by Europe, the United States, and the international community, represented by the Security Council."

"The drop that overfilled the glass was the capture of Zepa and Srebrenica, which used to be protected areas," Bogdanovic explains. "Of course, I admit the intensified

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action of the Muslim army toward Serb territories, which means that those areas were not completely demilitarized, but that did not give them the right, nor was there any need, to take those two enclaves. That provoked the other side to take Glamoc and Grahovo so easily and go behind Knin's back. That war option of the Pale leadership, unfortunately supported by individuals from the leadership of the RSK, like Milan Martic, resulted in the cessation of the economic negotiations the government of the RSK had started with Zagreb."

"The very act of closing the highway and of retaliation," Bogdanovic says, "actually gave Croatia a reason to attack and brutally capture western Slavonia, massacring people. And, instead of accepting the talks on the 'Z-4' peace plan, the leadership of the RSK, spurred by the Pale leadership, played heroes, threatened, and deceived both themselves and their people that they were able to defend themselves from the Croatian and Muslim army. Another mistake was the change of the RSK government led by Mikelic and the forming of the new government, just like the digressing from the peace policy of the FRY and, in particular, of the Serbian president."

As Bogdanovic told us, all efforts of the FRY leadership, particularly the Serbian president, for the peace plan to be accepted and their explanations that the solution to the problems can only be reached through negotiations have remained futile.

"So now we are where we are. New refugees, innocent people, children, women, the old.... That 'playing heroes,' pretending that they were capable of defending themselves, proved to be a paper tiger. Of course, it is the innocent who suffer, those who were not for war in the first place; I have talked to many people. However, the leadership holds those people under the war hatchet of the now already well-armed, organized, and ready for retaliation Croatian and Muslim army. Exceptional efforts in favor of the peace option and the letters of the president have not helped that unreasonable leadership realize that it is much braver to accept peace than to expose the people to suffering."

"These days, when a huge majority of people understand that war does not solve anything," Bogdanovic continues, "and that it is people who have to be protected first and not mere territory, and when we get support from all over the world for such a policy, even in the organs of the Security Council, only that [Pale] leadership does accept this. Everyone has had enough of war, and even a year ago it was time to bury the war hatchets."

Lives Lost in Vain

"We rightfully expect," Bogdanovic adds, "the Security Council and all those who one-sidedly and too quickly and groundlessly recognized Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as sovereign states, without taking care about the status of the Serbian people on those territories, to punish Croatia for the brutal massacres of innocent people with appropriate sanctions now, besides voicing an energetic disapproval of the Croatian aggression. All the more because the demonstrated and obvious peace policy of the FRY and Serbia has been recognized in Europe by both our neighbors and those who introduced the unjustified sanctions against us.

"The destiny of one people is at stake now, and those who are blinded by the war option and revenge should not decide it. Now is the moment to sit down at the negotiating table. In the past year, every life lost in war was lost in vain, and the people favor that option. The peace option is alien only to war agitators and profiteers because in peace they can no longer work and be what they have become through other people's misfortune. That is clear to everybody except them.

"We in the FRY and Serbia will need many efforts, strength, and means to receive those unlucky people and to give them minimum conditions for living, to heal the wounded and the sick, to relieve them of war fears and the psychosis of uncertainty. For that option we have the support in the FRY and in Serbia. An additional effort," Bogdanovic goes on, "must be made in order to convince the exiled, many of whom lost family members, that it would be a proper catastrophe if we helped them to go on with war. Some call this attitude betrayal, and I would rightly answer them that betrayal is in not realizing that only peace and negotiations mean the protection of those peopl and of the entire Serbian nation.

"The fact that the Pale leadership and some people from the leadership of the RSK are demanding help for the war option from the FRY and from Serbia and trying to get the FRY involved in the absurd war on the territory of former Yugoslavia is precisely the betrayal of the interests of the Serbian nation. We cannot be a part of Europe with the war option," Bogdanovic said.

[Box, p 2]

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] Franjo Tudjman, as reported in the foreign press, drew a new map of Croatia, in which almost the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina is included. By capturing Knin, Banija, and Kordun, is the way to those parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina that he drew on his map practically opened?

[Bogdanovic] With such aspirations, Tudjman and Croatia would be put into a ghetto. I am convinced that the majority of Croats do not think so. If we were under the protection of the United Nations, why should we not

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ask, through international organizations, for the Serbs who have lived on these territories for centuries not to be discriminated against? That is what we support the people of the RS and the RSK in. Great efforts were invested in the acceptance of the Vance Plan for the RSK, and its first phase, the deployment of Blue Helmets along Serb borders—that is, the separation lines—was completed. When it came to the second phase, the economic negotiations, some individuals from the RSK, under the influence of the RS, gave Tudjman reason for the aggression. But, when we sit down at the negotiating table, it will not be possible for things to stay that way.

[Box, p 2]

Karadzic's Letter

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] How do you comment on the letter of Radovan Karadzic to our president Slobodan Milosevic, in which he accuses him of the latest events?

[Bogdanovic] I did not expect anything else from a man who, for one year now, has not accepted the peace plan. I see those letters as his personal fight and the defense of his personal position. What we are saying, also through the letters of our government and our president, is that the only way out is the peaceful option. We have been pointing that out for a year now, and President Milosevic has always been a patriot, and he has invested maximum efforts for the RS to be constituted as a state, for it to be given the right in the peace plan to form a confederation with the FRY.... We have not given up our attitudes. Peace should be signed now, and that cannot be called betrayal. That demands courage.

Rallies Do Not Help Solve the Problems

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] Rallies of support for the people of the RS and the RSK are being organized, and the parliament of the RS has sent letters to the parliaments of Serbia, Montenegro, and Yugoslavia.

[Bogdanovic] Those who think war will solve the problem should go there. But no—they all blab here where they are safe, where the police take care that there are no incidents. Why do they not put themselves into the position of those who fight there, instead of demanding that others do that? How can we be called betrayers if we accept the refugees and even employ them, although according to law we should not employ people older than 18 or younger than 60. Herzegovinians should not agitate about war from here.... I repudiate every opinion that the people have been betrayed because we help them with food and medicines. They could not survive without that help. In Serbia every municipality has organized headquarters for the reception of refugees.... What does rallying mean? We shout that the president or someone else are traitors. Fine, let them show their courage by stopping Tudjman.

Nobody Gives Up Knin in Advance

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] Do you believe that through negotiations it will be possible to achieve the return of those people to their homes?

[Bogdanovic] When we sit down at the negotiating table and start talking openly how the secession of Slovenia and Croatia started through the war against the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and why there are no Serbs on the territories held by Muslims.... When we discuss this, we will chose the option we have always advocated: If we cannot live together, let us divide territories between us in such a way for everybody to be at least minimally satisfied. That is why we believe the Contact Group plan to be good, and the exchange of territories would bring a much better solution—everybody would get the territories on which they will be their own masters.

In negotiations, we would say that Serbs have disappeared from Tuzla, Croats from Vukovar.... All that would be put on the agenda, but in a peaceful way, not by war. Nobody gives up western Slavonia or Knin in advance; that must be solved through agreements.

[Box, p 2]

About the Vance Plan

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] According to the Vance Plan, the Yugoslav Army is the guarantee, and that is exactly what the opposition talks about.

[Bogdanovic] Not only the Yugoslav Army, but also the leadership of the FRY. President Milosevic had big problems persuading Milan Babic to accept the Vance Plan. We asked the Serbs there to organize themselves and start with the realization of the Vance Plan, but at one moment they unilaterally stopped that. We still support the efforts made for the realization of the Vance Plan, but not its forceful realization, not through a counterattack, not by getting the FRY involved in war. We have to keep in mind the fact that these are internationally recognized states. Why have they not proceeded with negotiations? We disapprove of the aggression, but we must not yield to that and start a war to annihilation.

Martic Has Changed

[POLITIKA EKSPRES] Martic is now accused of being one of the main culprits in the fall of Knin, Banija, and Kordun, and earlier the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]

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was accused of helping Martic become the president of the RSK. Where does that change come from?

[Bogdanovic] In the first round of elections, Milan Babic had more votes, and Martic won in the second. We supported Martic because Babic was against the Vance Plan. However, you have to remember that Martic later voted against the Contact Group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, although he did not have to do that, but he wanted to form an alliance with Karadzic. We cannot be responsible for the changes in his head. Those who are exclusive should not hold posts that decide about the entire people.

Montenegro

Liberal Alliance Assails Belgrade Over Refugees

LD1408190395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 14 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—The Liberal Alliance of Montenegro today blamed the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities for the Serb exodus from Krajina and protested the "forced mobilization in Montenegro."

"The regime in Belgrade and Podgorica has persevered in its policy of violently altering borders of already internationally recognized states, which has resulted in ethnic cleansing and uncivilized attempts at creating ethnically pure states—that is, the displacement of nearly 1 million people," the statement said.

It added that the Liberal Alliance supports the opposition's initiative on convening an extraordinary session of the Montenegrin assembly, devoted to the current situation in the region of former Yugoslavia.

"This so-called humanitarian resettlement—columns of refugees and homeless people, bombed by Croatian nationalists on one side and stopped and harassed by the guardians of the Serbian regime on the other—proves in the most convincing way that Montenegro must introduce radical changes to the vassal policies it has been pursuing," the statement said.

Kosovo

725 Serb Krajina Refugees Given Shelter

LD1408171195 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 14 Aug (BETA)—Ruzica Simic, the Kosovo Red Cross secretary, told Radio Pristina today that 725 [as published] Krajina refugees have been accommodated in Kosovo.

A total of 50 refugees are in Pristina, 148 in Istok, 521 in Prizren, three in Vucitron, and two in Zvecani, Simic specified. She added that municipal crisis headquarters were working intensively and that the conditions for the refugees in Kosovo were good. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina

56,000 Serb Krajina Refugees Given Shelter

LD1408172395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Sad, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—According to the latest information provided by the Vojvodina Red Cross, 56,012 people expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina had found shelter in the province by 1700 today.

The Vojvodina Red Cross says that the majority of refugees—39,860 people—found shelter with friends and relatives, and that 16,152 refugees are in temporary reception centers. [passage omitted]

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